

MARCUS AGRIPPA

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE GIRDLE OF APHRODITE

THE POETS OF THE GREEK
ANTHOLOGY

THE LETTERS OF ALCIPHRON

A HISTORY OF LATER LATIN
LITERATURE. (With T. A.
SINCLAIR)

A HISTORY OF LATER GREEK
LITERATURE

ALEXANDER THE GREAT



MARCUS VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA

Photo Alinari

[front

MARCUS AGRIPPA

Organizer of Victory

BY

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To

GORDON SELFRIDGE

‘There is no fun like work.’

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P R E F A C E

THIS book, which is intended for the general reader, is, I believe, the first biography published in England of one of the greatest men in Roman history. I have consulted the chief authorities, ancient and modern, for the period of his life, and especially the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X. I wish also to acknowledge my obligations to the learned monograph on Marcus Agrippa by the American scholar Meyer Reinhold.

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Marcus Agrippa

INTRODUCTION

OF all the great names in Roman history no one has been paid less attention by biographers, no one has received less of the fame that is his due, than Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. To establish a new imperial system on the ruins of the old republican constitution destroyed by Julius Caesar was a task of immense difficulty—*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*—far too great for the powers of any one person. The task was eventually performed with a fair measure of success, but in its initial stages it was performed not by one man but by a syndicate of four. Augustus, by common consent, was allowed to take the credit for all that his associates did, but the hardest part of the work was actually left to Agrippa, who was content all through his life to be his subordinate and eventually to marry his daughter.

There are periods when nothing of very great moment seems to happen, and the tide of affairs is stagnant without perceptible ebb or flow. There are other periods when all kinds of forces, destructive and constructive, are let loose, and the whole history of nations is changed for the better or the worse. To this latter class belongs the half-century in which Agrippa lived; and from the time when he first

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appears upon the scene as a youth of nineteen until the day of his death in his fifty-first year, he played a prominent part in all the vicissitudes of his troubled age. We can read the accounts which historians, ancient and modern, have given us of that period ; and when we have read them we may well ask ourselves a few questions. Who, for example, established a permanent Roman navy for the first time and put an end to the pirate bands which for a hundred years had scoured the Mediterranean seas ? Who was in command of the Roman fleet at the battle of Actium, and by winning that battle settled the destiny of the ancient world for the next three centuries ? Who found Rome a city continually disturbed by mob violence and lacking any adequate water-supply, and gave it both an organized water-board and a well-disciplined police force ? Who, finally, on every frontier of the empire in a series of hard-fought campaigns secured the supremacy of Rome ? To all these questions Augustus, in the account which he wrote of his administration, gives the answer 'I' : but in actual fact the name should be not Augustus but Agrippa.

There are, of course, good reasons for the prominence that historians have given to Augustus and for the comparative obscurity that has been Agrippa's lot. To begin with, Agrippa died, 12 B.C., while the work of reconstruction was still going on, and Augustus survived him for another twenty-five years, although it must be remembered that in this later period he was far less happy than when he had Agrippa by his

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side. Secondly, the fierce civil wars which followed on the death of Julius Caesar, and the failure of the Triumvirate to bring about a permanent settlement, had convinced the Roman people that the rule of one man was the only solution of the difficulties which beset them; and for that position the heir of Julius Caesar was both by birth and character so obviously the only choice that Agrippa, Livia, and Maecenas willingly consented to take a subordinate position and leave the credit to their official chief. Thirdly, Agrippa was of humble birth, and although Caesar had swept away many barriers the old oligarchic prejudice against 'new men' still remained, and it was thought well, if possible, to keep such fellows in the background. Until Nero's death, in A.D. 68, supreme power was reserved for members of the Julio-Claudian family, and even if Agrippa was admitted to the privileged circle by his marriage to Julia, his descendants and the writers they patronized did their best to forget him, while his grandson, the Emperor Gaius, went so far as to declare that his mother Agrippina was not the daughter of Agrippa but the result of an incestuous connection between Augustus and Julia.

It must, however, be admitted that Agrippa is neither a romantic hero nor a psychological case. In his private life there were none of those amorous episodes which so delightfully lightened the labours of Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius. In his public career there were none of those conflicts of conscience and concealments of purpose which make Augustus and Tiberius such tempting problems to the psychiatrist.

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But if we had to pick from the long list of Roman worthies the finest example of the typical Roman virtues, we could not make a better choice than Agrippa. In the early days of the Republic when Rome was making herself mistress in Italy, and later when she was fighting for her life against Hannibal, there were many men who did great deeds but did not desire fame, content to subordinate themselves to the welfare of the state. With the Scipios and the Gracchi there came a change, and the last century of the Republic was one long turmoil in which party strife and personal ambition took the place of the old unselfish patriotism.

With Agrippa we return to the nobler ideals of the past. In his character the chief qualities are those which the Romans called *industria*, *perseverantia*, *fortitudo*, and *prudencia*; a love of work, persistent energy, stubborn endurance, and political foresight. These are not brilliant qualities, for the typical Roman was not a brilliant person; but they are the main ingredients of *virtus*, that which makes a man a man indeed. Agrippa's career is a practical instance of what one man, unhelped by fortune, can do by sheer force of character and energy. Moreover, Agrippa was as good as he was great, and history can give us no better example of a truly upright man. In an age when sexual morality was at its lowest ebb and personal gain was most men's guiding motive, he remained untouched by scandal and firmly loyal to the friend whom he helped to make master of the world. Of him Seneca writes: 'He was a great

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soul, the only person among those whom the civil wars raised to fame and power who was really happy in his public life.' And Cassius Dio, who in spite of his defects as historian was a good judge of character, gives this verdict: 'Of all the men of his time Agrippa manifestly was the best.'

For all readers Agrippa's life is a lesson, and for English readers it has a special interest. Not only did Agrippa lay the foundations of that empire in ancient times which comes nearest to our own, but he also was the first Roman who showed any perception of the importance of sea power.

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

OF Agrippa's birthplace, of what manner of people his father and mother were, and of how he passed through infancy and childhood, we know nothing : and therefore none of those anecdotes of a great man's early life in which biographers take such delight will be found in this record. Still, if in the child we can often see the man, so in the man we can see the child ; and we can imagine that Agrippa was a sturdy boy, strong-willed, self-reliant, and dependable ; no more fond of his books than were most Romans, but clever with his hands and a leader among his comrades ; the sort of boy who with us would be an excellent school prefect, taking more interest in motor cars and flying machines than in Latin and Greek. But all this is mere surmise, and, abandoning fancy, it will be better to put down the few facts that can be gleaned from our ancient authorities.¹

The date of his birth, at least, is fairly certain, although even this cannot be fixed within a few months. Nicolaus of Damascus, a Syrian who flourished in the last quarter of the first century before Christ and wrote

¹ These passages have been carefully collected by Meyer Reinhold in his *Marcus Agrippa*. Geneva, New York, 1933.

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a 'Life of Caesar' which has come down to us, states that Agrippa and Octavius were at school together. Octavius was born September 23rd, 63 B.C., the year of Cicero's consulship, and from Nicolaus' statement we may assume that the two boys were approximately of the same age. Cassius Dio, the historian, writing in the early years of the third century A.D. with full access to the imperial records, says that Agrippa died in the latter half of March, 12 B.C.; and Pliny, the Elder, in his *Natural History*, completes the story. Pliny tells us that 'Agrippa was snatched away in his fifty-first year'; but whether he means by this that he had completed his fifty-first year or was then in his fifty-first year is a matter of some doubt. In any case we can take it as definite that Agrippa was born in the period between March, 64 B.C., and March, 63 B.C., and was therefore some months older than Octavius.

One other fact, if it can be regarded as a fact, about Agrippa's birth is given us by Pliny, who says that he was called Agrippa, like others of that name before him, because he came feet foremost from his mother's womb, and that he alone of all such cases was fortunate in his later life. This may be merely a tale repeated by Pliny which was invented to support the derivation of the word Agrippa from *aeger partus*, 'difficult birth'; but it is curious that the younger Agrippina, Agrippa's grand-daughter, stated in her Memoirs that her son Nero was born in the same unnatural fashion. Of Agrippa's father we know only that his first name was Lucius; about his mother

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we have no information whatever.¹ As regards the rest of the family it is certain that he had one brother older than himself and one sister. The brother was a friend of Cato Uticensis and fought with the senatorial armies against Julius Caesar. At the battle of Thapsus he was taken prisoner, but at the intercession of the young Octavius he was released and pardoned by Caesar. Of him, or of a younger brother, we hear again, for the historian Cassius Dio tells us that when Agrippa was at the height of his power and was approached in a matter where his brother was concerned, he refused to influence the consul's decision by expressing an opinion. Of the sister we have more tangible evidence. After Agrippa's death, A.D. 12, she began in accordance with his will to construct the colonnade which was called from her Porticus Vipsania, and was finally completed by Augustus.

Such details as these are of no great interest or value: the really important thing in Agrippa's early life is his friendship with the boy who was then called Gaius Octavius, and is known to us later, first as Octavian, and then as Augustus. There are many cases of notable friendships between men recorded in sacred and profane history—David and Jonathan, Alexander and Hephaestion, may serve as two examples—but usually they were friendships of an emotional type, and often they were cut short by

¹ This is not strictly exact, for there is an allusion to her in Manilius: '*matrisque sub armis miles Agrippa suae.*' *Astronomica*, I, 797. But even the ingenuity of Prof. Housman could find no sense in the words.

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death. With Augustus and Agrippa this was not so : in their friendship there was little romantic sentiment ; it was based on the attraction of opposite—or at least of complementary—qualities ; it lasted for life without any serious break ; it was equally advantageous to both persons, and it left its permanent memorial in the work which they accomplished together, the foundation of the Roman Empire.

To some it has seemed surprising that a youth of lowly origin like Agrippa should have been the intimate friend of one who had a father of senatorial rank and was himself adopted into the proud Julian family. The Gens Vipsania to which Agrippa belonged was one of the most humble in Rome, and his father Lucius apparently never distinguished himself in any way. In troubled times it is possible for a man to rise quickly, but the point is that Agrippa's father had not risen and was a man of no importance ; and yet we are told that Agrippa was educated with Octavius, and at the age of seventeen was his closest friend. There is a possible explanation, but it is a hazardous one, and will probably not be accepted, for it is unsupported by anything which the legal mind would consider as evidence.

Aristotle remarks that Nature tries to produce good offspring from good stock, although she is not always able to do so. The converse holds, and for a great man to be the son of commonplace parents is possible but rare. In all Roman history there is only one man who equals Agrippa in organizing ability, in military skill, and in unlimited capacity for work :

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and that man could possibly have been Agrippa's father. Julius Caesar was a person of notoriously loose life: 'Every woman's man, and every man's woman,' he was called in his younger days, and he did not alter his habits as he grew older. 'Romans, shut up your wives,' his soldiers sang at his triumph, 'the bald adulterer is coming to town.' That he had many illegitimate children whom he never openly recognized is a probable inference, and it is not impossible that Agrippa was his natural son. In that case we should have a reason for Agrippa receiving an education usually reserved for rich men's sons, a reason for Caesar bidding Agrippa as well as Octavius to accompany him on his Spanish expedition, a reason for both the young men being sent to study at Apollonia together. We should also have a reason for the likeness between Octavius and Agrippa, and for the fact that Gaius, son of Julia and Agrippa, whose resemblance to his father was notorious, was in appearance a typical Julian. And while there is nothing which can be called evidence, there are many trifling points which perhaps deserve consideration. Why did Agrippa usually cut out his middle name Vipsanius and call himself simply Marcus Agrippa? Why was Maecenas thought to be malicious when he drew the attention of Augustus to an orator arguing against the adoption of an illegitimate son? Why did Herod, naming his grandson after Agrippa, call him Marcus Julius Agrippa? Why did the people of Ilium call Agrippa their kinsman, as though he too were descended from Julus, son of Aeneas? Why did the people of

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Nemausus, when they set the heads of Augustus and Agrippa together on their crocodile coins, put this inscription, which would normally refer to both, IMP: P.P.: DIVI F? None of these questions in themselves carry much weight, but combined they may give the theory to seekers of mares' nests a certain attractiveness. It is often said that if there had been no Julius, there would have been no Augustus; and it may be that if there had been no Julius, there would have been no Agrippa.

In any case it must be remembered that Octavius on his father's side was not of a very distinguished family. His grandfather, who lived in the little country town of Velitrae, was a money-changer and money-lender; and by strict attention to business and opportune foreclosures he made a considerable fortune. His father used the money he inherited to improve his social position, and purchased office from the Roman electors in the recognized manner. He began by holding minor posts, but eventually became praetor and governor of the province of Macedonia, where he won some distinction by exterminating a band of runaway slaves. He was also fortunate enough to marry Atia, the niece of Julius Caesar, who was then coming to the front as leader of the democratic party, and on his return from his province in 59 B.C. he was marked out as a likely candidate for the consulship; an expectation falsified by his early death in 58 B.C., after which his widow married again.

Three years before that time Julius Caesar had divorced his wife Cornelia on the ground that Caesar's

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wife should be above suspicion, a condition which Cornelia emphatically did not fulfil; and in 59 B.C. he married a younger woman, Calpurnia, by whom, since he himself was a man of notorious virility, there seemed every prospect that he would have children. It is true that Calpurnia eventually proved barren, although the marriage was a happy and lasting one, but even so while there was any possibility of her bearing a son few people paid much attention to the young great-nephew. Moreover, in 47 B.C., the dictator, then a man past middle age, fell a victim to Cleopatra's youthful charms, and the next year defied public opinion by installing his foreign mistress in a villa at Rome, by allowing her to call their child Caesarion, and finally by setting up her statue in the temple which he had built to Venus Genetrix by the side of his divine ancestress. How much further Caesar would have gone if he had returned victorious from his Parthian expedition we cannot tell; but it is possible that Brutus and his confederates on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., not only saved Rome from an eastern despotism but also saved for Octavius his inheritance.

Reputable historians have often said that Octavius was Caesar's nearest male relative; but this, like many other statements in history concerning him, while not exactly a falsehood is also not exactly the truth. Caesar had two sisters, Julia major and Julia minor, and the elder of these is sometimes conveniently forgotten. Both sisters married and had children, and at the time of his death Caesar had three great-nephews alive, two of whom, Lucius Pinarius and

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Quintus Pedius, were the grandsons of his elder sister, while Gaius Octavius was the grandson of the younger Julia, whose funeral oration he delivered in public when he was twelve years old. Obviously none of the three great-nephews were very near relatives; but if it comes to a question of fact Octavius stands not first but third.

As regards these other two kinsmen Pinarius seems to have been quite insignificant: but Pedius was a man of some distinction and military experience. He had served with Caesar in Gaul as commander of a legion, and although we are not told of any great exploit which he performed, he took his fair share in the fighting and emerged with credit. In the campaigns that ended with Pharsalus in 48 and with Thapsus in 46, he must have shown some ability, for when after Thapsus the Pompeians made their way from Africa to Spain, Caesar sent him and Fabius to conduct operations there. That Pedius was unsuccessful was not entirely his own fault, for Cassius, the governor whom Caesar had appointed, had made himself hated by his avarice, and the name of Pompey was still remembered with reverence by the Spanish tribes. The country rose to support his two sons, Cnaeus and Sextus, and by the summer of 46 they had raised an army against which Pedius could do little.

This was Pedius' first independent command, and his failure in it had important results. Caesar abandoned any idea he might have had of making him his successor and turned his attention to his youngest great-nephew, and in his triumph allowed him to ride

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in a chariot while he also bestowed upon him the military decorations which usually were only given to officers who had taken part in the previous campaign. That he should have thus honoured his young kinsman is natural, but it is plain that in the next months he not only made a close study of Octavius' character, but also extended his notice to the young man's friends ; and nothing shows better his unique faculty for judging men's capacity than his next action. In the autumn of 46 reports from Spain showed that the situation there was growing steadily worse and that Caesar's presence was imperatively required. But before he left Rome he gave instructions that Octavius, Agrippa, and Salvidienus Rufus should follow him as soon as possible and serve on his staff. Neither Agrippa nor Salvidienus belonged to the class for whom such positions were commonly reserved, and they were both quite young. But Caesar, as always, relied upon his own judgment, and never was it more amply justified, for within a few years these young men were in command of armies and holding their own against experienced generals.

Caesar left Rome early in November and in twenty-seven days was at the front in Spain. The three friends were preparing to follow him when Octavius fell ill, and on his mother's advice postponed his departure. Agrippa and Salvidienus, however, set off at once without him and arrived in time to take part in Caesar's last and hardest campaign. The Pompeians had thirteen legions, four of them veterans, the others new Spanish levies of first-class fighting material.

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Cnaeus Pompeius was nominally in command, but the real direction of the army was in the hands of Labienus, the most skilful of all Caesar's Gallic commanders and the only one who had sufficient confidence in himself to go over to the senatorial party. Against him Caesar had only eight legions, so that Agrippa had the signal advantage of seeing at close quarters how a great general can overcome inferiority of numbers. The fighting was chiefly in the valley of the Baetis, where the Pompeians held Corduba and most of the other towns. By a series of marches, feints, and swift attacks Caesar gradually drove them southwards, and finally on March 17th, 45, gave them battle outside the town of Munda, where Agrippa had his first experience of what war really means. Caesar was giving his opponents the advantage of ground and numbers, but he was confident both of himself and his men. On his left wing he placed the third and fifth legions, on his right the famous tenth—the 'Alauda'—and began the battle with a charge of his African cavalry under the command of Bogud, Prince of Mauretania. Then the two lines of infantry met, and for hours the battle wavered, until at last Caesar himself, at the head of the tenth legion, drove back the Pompeian left wing, which was the signal for Bogud to charge again. Labienus had foreseen this and withdrew some troops from his right to check the cavalry; but the Pompeian centre and left thought that these men were retreating and themselves broke and fled. Labienus fell fighting, Cnaeus Pompeius escaped, but three weeks later was captured and killed.

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As soon as Octavius recovered from his illness he in his turn set out for Spain. The journey by land in winter was long and dangerous, and he had only a few slaves for escort ; but he made it successfully, and towards the end of March joined Agrippa at Caesar's headquarters. The dictator gave him a warm welcome, and openly expressed his approval both of his energy in making the journey and of his friends' conduct in the recent campaign. With him they saw the last stages of the war, which were marked by a relentless severity unusual on Caesar's part, and with him that summer they returned to Rome. By then Caesar had made up his mind about Octavius, and soon after his arrival he took a decisive step. Up till the year 49 B.C. Pompey, the husband of Caesar's daughter Julia, had been Caesar's heir. If Julia had borne a son before her death in 53, the course of history might well have been changed ; but she died childless, and when Pompey was killed in Egypt a fresh heir had to be found. For three years he deferred his decision, and then on the 15th of September 45 B.C. he made a new will. He was already committed to a Parthian campaign in the following spring, and there were three contingencies which he had to consider. Firstly, he himself might be killed in the course of the war. Secondly, Calpurnia might bear him a son in the near future. Thirdly, the person whom he named as heir might either die or refuse to accept responsibility. To understand this last point a short explanation is necessary. The Latin word *heres*, which we translate as 'heir,' is rather equivalent to our residuary

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legatee; and if the estate was of doubtful value or encumbered with debts it was possible that the heir might refuse to accept the position. For example, Marcus Antonius—whom in future we shall call Antony—had refused to administer his father's estate, a *damnosa hereditas*, and although this was thought to be discreditable on a son's part he was within his legal rights.

Accordingly the will which Caesar drew up was in the following terms. To the Roman people he bequeathed his villa and gardens across the Tiber together with a gift of 300 sesterces—about £2, 10s. in our money—to each Roman citizen. The residue of the estate was left to his three great-nephews in the proportion of three-quarters to Octavius, one-quarter to Pedius and Pinarius. In the event of their refusal Antony, Decimus Brutus, and some others were appointed heirs in default. Account was taken of the possible birth of a son and guardians were named for the child. And in the last clause of the will Octavius was adopted into the Gens Julia. No one was informed of the contents of the document, and when it was written and sealed Caesar gave it for safe custody into the charge of the Vestal Virgins, directing the senior Vestal, head of the college, to keep it until his return, and only to break the seal in case of his death.

That his approval of Octavius included Agrippa and Salvidienus was shown by his next step. He was preparing, as we have said, for a Parthian expedition, and legions were gathering in Macedonia to join him on his march to the East. He decided that the three

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young men should again be on his staff, and to occupy their time during the winter months of waiting he sent them in November to Apollonia, a pleasant coast town in the extreme south of Macedonia at the mouth of the river Aous, which was the headquarters of a legion. With them went as tutor Apollodorus of Pergamum, one of those learned Greeks whom Roman nobles at this time liked to have attached to their household in much the same position as that held by domestic chaplains in England during the seventeenth century. Apollodorus may have been the author of the very useful *Handbook to Greek Mythology* which we still possess; but in any case he was a skilful teacher, and instructed his three pupils in literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, the last study probably including lessons in practical politics such as Blossius gave to the Gracchi. While Apollodorus supervised their studies the commander of the legion took charge of their military training. They went route marching with the troops, they engaged in cavalry exercises, they watched the engineers working their catapults and battering-rams; and they made friends with the officers of the legion, who were delighted to have the great-nephew of the dictator among them. And while they were thus happily busy the bolt fell.

The young men had been four months at Apollonia, and in that time many things had occurred at Rome. During the latter part of the year 45 B.C. Caesar came definitely under Cleopatra's influence. He had already been appointed dictator for life, he had supreme command of all the armies of the state, he

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controlled the senate as censor, and as tribune he could veto any law of which he disapproved. But this was not sufficient for her purpose. An Eastern autocrat, such as she desired him to become, was to his people not a man but a god ; and in the autumn of the year the first steps were taken to making Caesar divine. A new goddess, Venus Genetrix, was invented as his ancestress ; his statue was placed in the shrine of Quirinus, the deified Romulus, and Antony was appointed its priest ; his house on the Palatine was given a temple pediment as though it were now the abode of a god. We know from Cicero's letters the fierce indignation that all this roused among those of the old senatorial class who still survived ; and when it became plain that the Parthian expedition, if it were successful, would give Caesar the unfettered power of an oriental monarch, it was decided that the tyrant must die. Marcus Brutus, the son of Caesar's old mistress Servilia, Decimus Brutus, and Cassius Longinus were the leading spirits in the conspiracy, to which about sixty senators were privy. On the Ides of March, 44 B.C., at a meeting of the senate called, it is said, to declare Caesar *rex*, the conspirators gathered round their victim, drew their daggers, and struck him down.

That night Rome waited in terror for what was to come : and nothing happened. Antony, who expected to be the next victim, barricaded himself in his house, but the liberators let their opportunity slip ; the tyrant was dead, and they wanted no more bloodshed, nor had they any definite plans for taking

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control of the government. Antony seized the chance which their torpor gave him, and at a meeting of the senate which as consul he summoned on March 17th Cicero, who had not been in the conspiracy, proposed a general amnesty. This was carried, and it was also agreed that Caesar's will—which the Vestal Virgins had now produced—together with his projected plans should be confirmed, and that his body should be given a public funeral. Antony then invited the conspirators to a dinner at his house to hear the will read. Most of those present, Antony included, expected that Antony was the heir, and probably there were malicious smiles when it was found he was only in the second place and that Octavius was both Caesar's heir and adopted son. A lesser man would have been dismayed, but Antony faced the situation with his usual cheerful courage. He had in his possession all Caesar's papers together with the treasure in the temple of Ops, and he resolved to carry on as though Octavius did not exist.

Meanwhile Atia had sent a messenger across the sea in haste to her son, telling him of Caesar's murder, and the alarm in Rome, and begging him to be cautious. It is uncertain whether in a later letter she informed him of the terms of Caesar's will, but in any case the situation for an untried youth of nineteen was extremely difficult. The officers of the legion at Apollonia urged him to put himself at their head and march through Macedonia into Italy to take vengeance for Caesar's death. But this proposal, which meant immediate civil war, he was prudent enough to reject for the

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moment, although later he took advantage of the offer. Fortunately he had in Agrippa a counsellor who was willing to take risks when risks were necessary but never rashly ran into danger, and they decided that the best course would be for Octavius to cross to Brundisium as a private individual, and there determine his future course of action.

But before they left Apollonia, Octavius thought it well to have their horoscopes cast. Like many very practical Romans he was a firm believer in omens of every kind, and later in this year he was greatly cheered by a halo which formed round the sun, and by the appearance in July of the comet to which the name of *Sidus Fulium* was given. At that time there was living in Apollonia an astrologer of some repute called Theogenes, and Octavius persuaded Agrippa, who was less credulous, to accompany him on a visit to the seer's consulting room. Agrippa was taken in hand first, and when his calculations were complete Theogenes promised him a future of great and almost incredible success. This was not exactly what Octavius had come for, and it was with some reluctance that he gave the date of his own birth, since it seemed that nothing could surpass Agrippa's fortune. He need not have been afraid: Theogenes could not express in words the future which he foresaw for his young client, but fell at his feet and kissed the ground in homage to one who would, he said, be one day ruler of the world. This was at least encouraging; and before March ended our three musketeers decided to set out together to try their fortunes in Italy.

CHAPTER II

CAESAR'S INHERITANCE

OCTAVIUS, Agrippa, and Salvidienus arrived in Italy early in April 44, but with the caution natural to Octavius they landed not at the usual port of Brundisium, where their coming might have attracted attention, but at the little harbour of Lupia some way along the coast. The first few days were spent in reconnoitring the position, and then the three decided to make their way to Brundisium. There, if not before, they learned that Caesar in his will had adopted Octavius as his son, and left him heir to three-quarters of his private fortune. At this Octavius ventured to present himself to the garrison of the town, veterans of Caesar's army, and received from them a warm welcome and many signs of affection. He had informed his mother and his stepfather of his arrival, and from them he soon received letters, warning him of his dangerous position in face of Antony, and urging him to refuse the adoption and inheritance. Fortunately his two companions were equally urgent with him on the other side, and finally ambition and youth prevailed over prudence and age. Like Caesar before him he crossed his Rubicon, and publicly announced to the veterans his acceptance of Caesar's will and his determination to take vengeance upon his adopted father's murderers.

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But although it rested with Octavius himself whether he should accept or refuse the responsibility of administering Caesar's estate as heir, the matter of his adoption into the Julian family was not purely personal but involved certain civic formalities. Before he could be recognized legally as Caesar's son, and therefore entitled to bear Caesar's name, the adoption had to be ratified at the assembly of the citizens known as *comitia curiata*, the procedure being somewhat similar to that of a private bill with us. As Antony was consul and had control of the machinery of government it was quite possible for him to postpone the meeting of the assembly, or even perhaps to prevent the business coming forward. He did, in fact, delay it for nearly five months, and it was not until the latter half of August that the *lex curiata* was passed, and Gaius Octavius became legally Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. After that date his friends usually called him Caesar, his enemies called him Octavian ; but for convenience in this narrative we shall use the second name, without prejudice, until the year 27 B.C. when he was given the honorary title of Augustus.

In spite of the soldiers' enthusiasm a cautious policy was still plainly indicated, and the young heir, disclaiming all political ambition, contented himself with sending letters from Brundisium to the senate and Antony announcing his intention of accepting the inheritance. When he was ready to leave the town the veterans were eager to provide him with an escort, but he refused their offer, and in company with Agrippa and Salvidienus travelled quietly across

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Italy to the Bay of Naples. He arrived there on April 18th and went at once to his stepfather's villa at Puteoli. Family affection may have suggested the journey; but if it was so, sentiment and policy coincided, for Cicero was living in the adjoining house with Hirtius and Pansa, consuls designate for the coming year, as his guests. To the old statesman the young men paid a deferential visit and asked for his advice as to the best course to pursue when they reached Rome. Of his intention of avenging Caesar's murder Octavian probably said nothing, but it seems that the others were less prudent, and Cicero was finally left undecided whether to approve or to disapprove of his young visitors. In any case he regarded the three as mere boys, and was disposed to pity them when they encountered Antony.

Antony for his part had good reasons to be satisfied with his position. After the reading of Caesar's will he had, with Calpurnia's consent, taken possession of all Caesar's papers and also of the state treasure stored in the temple of Ops. At the public funeral, given to Caesar's body on March 20th, he had been able to stir up public fury against the liberators, as they called themselves, or the assassins, as others called them, so effectually that their two leaders, Marcus Brutus and Cassius, thought it safer to leave Rome. Freed from their presence Antony then secured the support of Lepidus by arranging for him to become *pontifex maximus*, the official head of the state religion, and allowed Dolabella to join him as colleague in the consulship. The senate was placated by a decree

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which permanently abolished the office of dictator ; the Caesarians and the soldiers were already on his side. The tide of fortune was flowing steadily in his favour, and it seemed as if he was destined to step into Caesar's place. So secure was he of his control of Rome that in the middle of April, just when Octavian was consulting Cicero at Puteoli, he thought it safe to go south to Campania and arrange for the allotments of land which he had promised to the veterans.

Accordingly when Octavian, towards the end of the month, arrived at Rome he was in Antony's absence enthusiastically received both by the populace and by many of Caesar's old followers. A halo which appeared round the sun on the day of his entry into the city was taken as a presage of divine favour, and he increased his popularity by a speech to the people in which he promised to pay at once the legacies which Caesar had left them. It may be imagined that all this was a very unpleasant surprise for Antony, and abandoning his work in Campania he returned in some haste to Rome. His irritation was not diminished when Octavian visited him, and asked for his help in taking possession of his inheritance. It would have been wise to be polite, but Antony allowed his temper to get the better of him, and after keeping Octavian waiting for some time in an ante-room, he told him bluntly that he was too young to bear the responsibility which Caesar's inheritance would entail, and that he had better leave the task to older and stronger men.

To Antony and to Cicero, Octavian was a boy who

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could easily be frightened or cajoled, and neither the soldier nor the orator guessed how subtle was the intellect with which they had to deal. Octavian was not disturbed by Antony's veiled threats, and after consulting with his friends and kinsmen he decided to leave Antony for the moment in possession of the hundred millions of sesterces (£800,000), which Calpurnia had handed over to him, but to sell the rest of Caesar's property, houses, land, and slaves, and with the proceeds pay the legacy of 300 sesterces which Caesar had left to each Roman citizen. Pedius and Pinarius agreed to use their shares in the estate for the same purpose, and when Octavian at a public meeting announced that the money would be paid at once, there was, as might be expected, a great demonstration of popular feeling in favour of the young heir. He followed up his advantage by giving in July, at his own expense, the games which had been voted in Caesar's honour, and attempted to bring into the theatre the gilded chair which the senate had authorized Caesar to use. Antony did himself little good when he vetoed its introduction, for the veterans regarded his action as a slight to their dead chief; and when on the last days of the festival a comet appeared in the sky it was taken as proof that Caesar was now a god in heaven. Octavian accordingly placed a statue of his adopted father with the star—*Fulium sidus*—above his head in the temple of Venus Genetrix, and gained further applause from the mob.

The result of this was that the Republican party,

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now led by Cicero, began to think that Octavian would be a serviceable tool to use against Antony, while Antony himself realized too late that he had made a mistake in treating the young man as entirely negligible. He was still unwilling to acknowledge that a boy without official position and unsupported by any armed force deserved much consideration ; but his hand was forced when the veterans, who really held the key to the position, insisted that Caesar's representative and Caesar's heir should be friends. He was compelled to agree to a meeting in the temple of Jupiter, and there, in the presence of the soldiers, Antony and Octavian went through the Roman equivalent of shaking hands.

The reconciliation, however, was only formal. Octavian wished to stand for the tribuneship, but Antony vetoed his candidature, and soon afterwards gave out that some of his bodyguard had been bribed—by Octavian, it was understood—to murder him. Both these acts were definitely unfriendly, and when Antony with his wife Fulvia set out in October for Brundisium to meet the Macedonian legions whom he had summoned to expel Decimus Brutus from Cisalpine Gaul, Octavian ventured on a counter-stroke. About this time he had been joined by an Etruscan knight, Cilnius Maecenas, who was to prove as useful to him in the sphere of diplomacy as Agrippa was in the sphere of direct action, and the three agreed together on a plan which proved successful on this and on many later occasions. Agents were sent to Brundisium to distribute leaflets among the legions

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urging them to support Caesar's heir and avenger, while Octavian and Agrippa, marching with a small bodyguard through Campania, enlisted three thousand of the veterans settled there, each man being offered a donative of twenty pounds.

With this force Octavian returned to Rome, and in a speech at a public meeting pronounced a panegyric on Caesar and also undertook to oppose Antony's designs. The latter, however, although he had had some difficulty with the legions, had managed to conciliate them, and was by this time marching on the city at their head. Octavian accordingly retired northwards, and then the effect of the leaflets was seen; for to Antony's extreme chagrin he was joined by two of the Macedonian legions who had been left outside Rome at Tibur. Antony's attempt to get the men back proved useless; and so, after convening a meeting of the senate to rearrange the provinces for the next year, he set out for Cisalpine Gaul with those legions which still remained faithful to him.

This happened late in November 44 B.C., and on January 1st, 43, the state of affairs was as follows: Antony had shut Brutus up in Mutina and was investing the town. In Rome Antony's partisans in the senate had been defeated by the Republicans under Cicero, and the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were empowered to raise an army to relieve Brutus. As for Octavian, whose loyalty to the Republican cause was guaranteed by Cicero, he was given the rank of propraetor, and with his veterans and the two Macedonian legions was to act in conjunction with the consuls in

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the coming campaign. In the spring of 43 B.C. Hirtius and Octavian marched northwards, and it was in the fighting round Mutina that Agrippa had his first experience of responsibility in battle. What position he and Salvidienus held we are not told, but they were probably second in command to Octavian, and as we know that their chief spent most of his days in writing speeches and rehearsing their delivery, it is possible that the work of military administration fell on their shoulders. In any case the three young men were overshadowed by Hirtius, who had been one of Caesar's best generals, and when Octavian was asked to hand over the two legions he did so without much reluctance.

For some time operations were of a very desultory nature. Antony was besieging Decimus Brutus, Hirtius and Octavian were coming to his relief; but Antony and Hirtius were both Caesarians, Brutus was one of Caesar's assassins, and Octavian had openly declared that his first object was to exact the death penalty from all who had been concerned in his father's murder. The soldiers in all the armies for their part, with the possible exception of Caesar's veterans, were not fighting for a cause or a country, but were chiefly anxious to be on the winning side and to get as high pay as possible. But on April 14th a fierce battle took place at Forum Gallorum. Antony heard that Pansa with four legions of recruits was marching to join Hirtius, and determined to intercept him. The two forces met on the Aemilian Way, and after Pansa had been seriously wounded his troops began to retreat.

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At this moment Hirtius with two legions arrived and fell upon Antony's men, who in their turn retired into the marshes, where Hirtius did not think it safe to pursue. In this engagement Octavian and Agrippa were left behind to guard the camp; but seven days later, when an attempt was made to break through Antony's lines into Mutina, both risked their lives in a hand-to-hand conflict. Antony's troops suffered severely in the desperate struggle, and that night Antony decided to abandon the siege and retire to Gallia Narbonensis where Lepidus was in command. When he came to that decision he did not know that Hirtius had been killed in the day's battle and that Pansa was mortally wounded: which perhaps was as well for Octavian.

A dispatch announcing his retreat was sent to Rome, and for a little time Cicero exulted in what he considered was his personal triumph. He too, like Antony before him, thought that Octavian was negligible, and in one of his most unfortunate epigrams he said, '*Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum,*' 'We must praise and compliment the young man—and then remove him.' But his exultation did not last for long. Octavian refused to act with Decimus Brutus, whom the senate had put over him, and Antony was allowed to make his way to Lepidus. Before long the news came in that not only Lepidus but Plancus, governor of northern Gaul, and Pollio, governor of Further Spain, had joined forces with Antony, and that Brutus was helpless against them. Octavian's hour had come. He demanded the consul-

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ship, and when this was refused sent a band of centurions to Rome. A certain Cornelius was in command of the party, and when the senate still demurred he put his hand to his sword and said, 'If you will not give Caesar the consulship, this will.'

On the return of his envoys to camp the legions demanded to be led to Rome, and Octavian carried out the *coup d'état* which he had planned. The senate tried to resist, but on August 19th he and his kinsman Pedius were proclaimed consuls. Then events moved quickly. Octavian's adoption was ratified by the assembly, and he became legally entitled to the name of Caesar. A law, the Lex Pedia, was passed, ordering the immediate prosecution of Caesar's assassins, and their trial began at once, Agrippa acting as prosecutor against Cassius. They were all condemned in their absence and outlawed: and Caesar's murder was at last avenged.

The next step was to put their sentence into effect, and for this a reconciliation with Antony was necessary. Decimus Brutus had by this time been ignominiously captured and killed by a Gallic chieftain while he was attempting to join his brother Marcus in Macedonia, and Octavian now induced the senate to rescind the sentence of outlawry which had been passed against Antony and Lepidus. There was accordingly nothing to prevent a union, and although Octavian was considerably the weaker in armed strength, as consul and as Caesar he was in a position to make a bargain. In the autumn, accompanied by his friends and advisers, he marched leisurely northwards and met

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Antony and Lepidus in Cisalpine Gaul. Each of the three had five legions with him, and the decisive conference took place on a peninsula formed by the river Lavino near Bononia, where for two whole days the three leaders considered the whole position in its political, military, and financial aspects. On the third day they came to an agreement. Politically it was decided that the three should get themselves appointed by the Roman people as *tresviri reipublicae constituendae*, 'commissioners for the reorganization of the state,' with proconsular authority for five years and power to nominate the subordinate magistrates in Rome. All arrangements made for provincial government were cancelled. Octavian received as his special sphere Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa; Antony all Gaul except Aquitania; Lepidus Aquitania, Spain, and Italy. Nothing was fixed in regard to the eastern provinces, for they were a military rather than a political matter.

Caesar's murderers had formally been condemned to death in Rome, but in Macedonia and Syria their chief leaders, Brutus and Cassius, were very much alive. Marcus Brutus had gone to Athens at the end of 44 B.C., and by a stroke of good fortune had got possession of the tribute of the province of Asia, sixteen thousand talents (£320,000). With this he had won over the legions in Illyricum, and when Antony sent his brother Gaius Antonius as governor of Macedonia, he took him prisoner and held the province for the senate. Cassius for his part had sailed to Syria, and there attracted to his side the six legions then in

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the province. Dolabella, acting in Antony's interests, tried to oppose him, but was defeated and committed suicide, his troops then going over to the winning side. In the spring of 43 B.C. Cassius had twelve legions in Syria under his command, and Brutus had seven in Macedonia. They were masters of the East, and Cassius proceeded ruthlessly to exact huge contributions of money and material from the rich cities of Asia Minor. To dislodge them was the Triumvirs' first task, and for this they had forty-three legions at their disposal against their opponents' nineteen. But there was one great difficulty: they had no money to pay their soldiers, and they knew that without pay even Caesar's veterans would not fight.

Until the financial question was settled neither their political nor their military plans could be carried into effect. War, as we have found, is a costly business, and civil war is exactly twice as costly as the other kind. Caesar had been in much the same predicament after Munda as were the Triumvirs, and he had hoped to mend his and the state's fortunes with the spoils of an Eastern campaign. But for the Triumvirs the road to the East was blocked, and they had to look for some other way. The state treasury was empty, no money could be raised from the western provinces, and the only possibility was to seize the property of the many rich men in Italy. But the ancient world knew nothing of income tax or death duties, and if it became necessary to take a man's estate he had to be killed first. The Triumvirs therefore decided to issue proscription lists, as Sulla had done before them. A

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reward was offered for the murder of every man whose name appeared upon the lists, and his property was confiscated to the state. By this means they hoped not only to fill their war chest but also to get rid of all their enemies in Italy.

The first list only contained twelve names, and the consul, Q. Pedius, a well-meaning and kindly man, on his own initiative published an edict in Rome announcing that no more would be added. He was sadly mistaken, and next day was found dead. Appian tells us that fatigue was the cause of his sudden death, but more probably it was due to despair and remorse. On November 24th the Triumvirs entered Rome, attended by a large body of soldiers, and then fresh lists of the proscribed were issued continually. Cicero was one of the first victims. He attempted to escape, but was caught by a band of soldiers, who cut off his head and sent it to Antony's wife Fulvia, whose daughter Octavian had just married. It is said that when the virago received the dreadful gift she drew out a bodkin and stabbed it through the tongue which had so often attacked her. With Cicero died his brother Quintus and his old enemy Verres, then living quietly in the enjoyment of his ill-gotten wealth. The massacres went on for weeks, and it is computed that at the end three hundred Roman senators and two thousand knights met a violent death. The plutocratic class of rich landholders was almost wiped out, and their estates passed into the hands of the Triumvirs and their associates. Even so they were not satisfied, and a list was issued of four hundred wealthy ladies,

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who were required to contribute whatever amount of their fortune their rulers demanded. Finally, the soldiers were promised that when the war ended they should receive eighteen of the richest towns in Italy, together with the land pertaining to them.

In all this Agrippa, as far as we know, took little part, and the only time that Appian,¹ our chief authority, mentions his name is when he tells us that Agrippa secured the pardon of one of the proscribed by interceding with Octavian. But when politics, finance, and legalized murder gave place to preparations for war he was fully occupied. Early in 42 B.C. Antony sent eight legions across to Macedonia under Norbanus and Saxa. Octavian and Salvidienus went off to Sicily on an abortive expedition against Sextus Pompeius. Agrippa remained in Italy to enrol and equip the legions which Octavian was to supply in the coming campaign. Meanwhile Brutus had withdrawn from Macedonia, and joining forces with Cassius at Smyrna had decided to secure their hold on Asia Minor before returning to Europe. Their fleet was strong enough, they thought, to prevent Antony's main force from crossing the Adriatic, and they could crush the eight legions which had been sent in advance. In accordance with this plan Cassius forced Rhodes to pay 8500 talents, and exacted ten years' tribute in one payment from the cities of Asia Minor, while Brutus marched through Lycia collecting forced contributions from all the principal towns. By the

¹ Those who have a taste for horrors may read a full account of the proscriptions in Appian, *Civil Wars* (Bk. IV, Chs. 2-6).

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summer they were able to secure the loyalty of their soldiers with lavish gifts of money, and crossed the Bosphorus into Thrace where they found Norbanus holding the passes against them. Outmarching and outwitting him they forced him to retire into Amphipolis, and themselves took up a strong position near by at Philippi, holding the high ground and in close contact with their fleet.

Such was the situation when Antony arrived at Amphipolis in October 42. In spite of the Republican squadron of warships blockading Brundisium he and Octavian had got their twelve legions across sea to Dyrrhachium, where Octavian was prostrated by a sudden illness and had for a time to remain. His legions, therefore, on their march through Greece, were probably under Antony's command, with Agrippa and Salvidienus in subordinate positions, and even when he sufficiently recovered to appear at Philippi he had to be carried in a litter and was too ill to take an active part in any operations. His colleague's malady was perhaps no great grief to Antony, who at once took the offensive against his enemies. Brutus and Cassius were in separate camps joined by a rampart, and after constructing a causeway across the marshes, Antony attacked Cassius both in front and on the flank. The troops defending the camp gave way, and in a moment of despair Cassius committed suicide. But while the attack on Cassius was proceeding, the legions under Brutus had advanced on the other wing and fallen upon Octavian's camp. Octavian, as he tells us in his *Memoirs*, had been

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warned by a dream of danger, and lost no time in withdrawing to a place of security. His men were not so fortunate, and after suffering heavy losses were compelled to retire from the camp, which was then pillaged. These two engagements, one counterbalancing the other, make the first battle of Philippi.

The second battle came twenty days later, and if Brutus had been a man of stronger character would never have been fought. Time was on his side, he had the advantage of position, Antony was already hard pressed to find food for his men with winter coming on, and finally the Republicans had absolute command of the sea, for just at this time Murcus captured the one squadron of war-ships which the Triumvirs possessed escorting reinforcements for Antony, and compelled both the oarsmen on the triremes and the soldiers on the transports to join his side. But as happened before with Pompey at Pharsalus, Brutus knowing the better path chose the worse, and when his officers clamoured for battle he protested and gave way. Antony did his part by marching close to the ramparts of his camp and taunting him with cowardice; Octavian played his favourite card of propaganda by throwing over leaflets offering rich rewards to all deserters; and on November 16th the battle took place which decided the fate of the Roman Republic. Both armies advanced slowly like heavy machines without any of the usual skirmishing, and when they met a series of hand-to-hand struggles began. Antony was everywhere, and everywhere urging on his men; at last the first line of the Republican army

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gave way, then the second, and then the third. In the rout that followed Brutus cut his way through with what remained of four legions ; but the next day his officers refused to fight, and he committed suicide. Of his followers, the legionaries at once took service with the victors, their officers either committed suicide, or were captured and killed, or made their escape by sea and took refuge with Murcus and Sextus Pompeius.

Philippi not only brought the Republic to an end, but it also made a considerable change in the respective positions of Octavian and Antony. In Macedonia Octavian had scarcely covered himself with glory, while Antony had displayed all the qualities of a great commander, and in the re-arrangement of power which followed after the battle he again claimed and took the larger share. He kept Transalpine Gaul and Gallia Narbonensis together with the two Spanish provinces, and he also secured the East as his especial sphere of government ; Octavian was given Cisalpine Gaul, Sicily, Sardinia, and the general control of Italy ; Lepidus had to be satisfied with the province of Africa. The forty-three legions were reduced to thirty-two, and of these Antony took seventeen, Octavian fifteen. Then Antony went to the East to exact more money from the defenceless cities, while Octavian returned to Italy to carry out the difficult task of giving the discharged veterans their promised rewards. He again fell ill on the way back, and for some weeks lay at death's door, so that it was not until the beginning of 41 B.C. that he arrived in Rome.

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The business which he had undertaken would have been unpleasant in any case, for it involved the expropriation of the existing landholders, the unavoidable infliction of grave hardships, and the consequent certainty of general dislike. But the task was rendered even more arduous by the conduct of two persons who might have been expected to help—Antony's wife Fulvia, and Antony's brother Lucius. Fulvia was a woman of great ability, but of violent temper and extreme audacity; she had completely dominated Lepidus during the latter half of 42, appointing magistrates on her own initiative and assuming the general control of the government, and she was not disposed to give way to the young man whom she regarded as a weakling and a coward. With Lucius, who was consul for the year, and Manius, Antony's chief agent in Italy, she went up and down, creating disturbance everywhere, inciting the landholders to resist eviction, and begging Antony's veterans to wait until their general returned. Lucius went even further, and raising six legions prepared for open hostilities. The veterans tried in vain to bring about a reconciliation, but Lucius and Fulvia were confident of their strength, and in the summer Italy was once again in the throes of civil war. Octavian had four legions in Italy and six others then on their way to Spain under Salvidienus, which he hastily recalled. Lucius had his six legions of recruits and hoped for the support of the legions in Gaul, then under the command of Calenus, Ventidius Bassus, and Pollio.

Before hostilities began Octavian divorced Fulvia's

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daughter and indulged his taste for literature by writing lampoons, one of which Martial has preserved : ¹

Since Fulvia's lord to Glycera transfers
His love, to me has Fulvia proffered hers.
Must I be proxy then, or if he plead
Play Jove with Manius for a Ganymede?
'Tis love or war' says Fulvia. Be it so :
No hireling will I be. Blow, trumpet, blow.

The first blow was struck by Lucius, who made a sudden raid on Rome, where he was welcomed by the populace and proclaimed Octavian a public enemy. Octavian at the moment was engaged in an ineffectual attempt to capture Sentinum, which he abandoned and hastened southwards. Lucius then left Rome and came north to join Ventidius and Pollio, who were marching slowly in the rear of Salvidienus.

Octavian was in a critical position, but he was saved on this occasion, as on many others later, by Agrippa, whose name now almost for the first time appears in our ancient authorities. Taking command of the army Agrippa marched northwards in pursuit of Lucius, and seizing the Etruscan town of Sutrium blocked his retreat. Salvidienus was still coming steadily southwards, and Lucius finding himself caught between the two armies turned aside and occupied the hill town of Perusia (Perugia), which he then strongly fortified against attack. Pollio and Ventidius halted and waited to see what would happen, and Octavian coming up with a third army joined Agrippa and Salvidienus, and began the siege of Perusia.

¹ Martial, *Epigrams*, XI, 20.

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An outer ring of earthworks was constructed to check any relieving force, and a close blockade was maintained. Lucius had neglected to provide adequate stores of provisions, and his soldiers were soon suffering severely from want of food, while the slaves were reduced to eating leaves and grass. Ventidius and Pollio, now joined by Plancus with an army which Fulvia had raised, made a half-hearted attempt to relieve the town; but Agrippa easily repelled this, and driving them back to Fulginium (Foligno), immobilized them there. A last desperate attempt at a sortie on January 1st, 40 B.C., failed, and soon afterwards Lucius surrendered. He himself was pardoned, and those of his soldiers who wished were allowed to take service with Octavian. But to the Roman senators and knights who were with him no mercy was shown. They, together with the magistrates of the town, were led out at once for execution, and to all appeals Octavian gave only one answer: 'You must die.'

While Octavian and Agrippa in Italy were having the painful experience of hardship and danger which is so good for youth, the middle-aged Antony in Asia Minor was enjoying the time of his life. Fulvia was far away; the fighting was over and he had gained the victory; the cities of Asia could not indeed yield all the money which he had expected, for they had been bled white by Cassius, but what they could not give in cash they paid in flattery. Antony was the god Dionysus come back to earth, the temples were filled with his worshippers, bands of singers and dancers

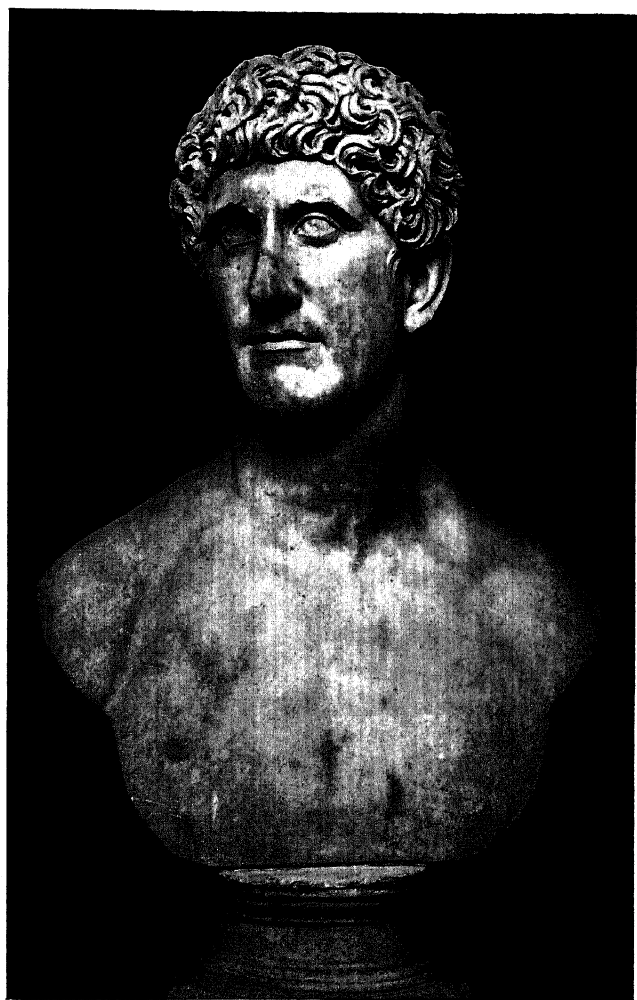
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attended him, he had his choice of the fairest women of Asia, and his progress through the country was one long series of feasts and revelry. The climax came at Tarsus, where he had summoned Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, to answer for the support which she had given to Cassius. Their meeting has been described by those two romantics, Plutarch and Shakespeare after him, and although on this occasion Antony later broke away, the whole course of his life was changed when Cleopatra came to him on the river Cydnus :

‘The barge she sat in, like a burnish’d throne,
Burn’d on the water; the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggar’d all description; she did lie
In her pavilion—cloth-of-gold of tissue—
O’er picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature; on each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids
With divers-colour’d fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks, which they did cool,
And what they undid did.’¹

That autumn and winter Antony spent with the Egyptian queen in Alexandria, and while Octavian was encamped outside the walls of Perusia in constant danger of attack, his sword, like Caesar’s before him, was laid in Cleopatra’s bed. His friends sent messages from Italy telling him of the fierce contest in which

¹ Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II, Sc. 2.



MARCUS ANTONIUS

Photo Andersen

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his brother and his colleague were engaged ; but he refused to give any indication of his wishes or take any action himself, leaving his subordinates free to support either side. At the beginning of 40 B.C., however, he was roused from his amorous pleasures by the news that the Parthians had invaded Asia Minor. Leaving Cleopatra with little ceremony he hastened to Ephesus, where he heard that Perusia had fallen, that Fulvia's plans had completely failed, and that his wife, accompanied by Plancus, was waiting for him at Athens.

After Perusia there had been a general exodus from Italy on the part of those who had encouraged Lucius in his attempt, and now had reason to fear Octavian's vengeance. In all possible ways they sought to stir up trouble between Antony and his colleague, and although neither of the Triumvirs desired war, both began to consider its possibility. Octavian's forces had been strengthened by the two legions abandoned by Plancus, which Agrippa had induced to come over to his side ; and in June 40, leaving Agrippa in charge of Italy, he took a bold step. He had learned of the death of Calenus, who was in command of the eleven legions in Gaul which had been assigned to Antony, and hastening to the province he induced the officers of this large army to put themselves at his disposal and accept Salvidienus as their new commander. As a precautionary measure in the event of hostilities this was an extremely skilful move ; and it left Antony so uncertain of what their future relations would be that when Sextus Pompeius sent to him proposing an

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alliance against Octavian, he could not give him a definite answer.

The career of Sextus Pompeius is typical of this troubled age. The youngest son of Pompeius Magnus, with few of his father's qualities good or bad, he had made his escape from Caesar after the battle of Munda, and wandering to and fro in Spain had gradually collected a force of desperadoes, Roman and Spanish, strong enough to carry on a guerilla warfare against the governors appointed by Caesar. He then conceived the idea of organizing the pirates of the Mediterranean into a disciplined fleet; for though his father, in 67 B.C., claimed to have exterminated piracy, in 44 it was as prevalent and flourishing as ever. He himself had every qualification to be a pirate chief; he was cruel, greedy, and treacherous; and in carrying out his plan he had the help of an equally unscrupulous rascal, an Anatolian Greek named Menas, one of his father's freedmen, who probably had old connections with the pirates. After Caesar's death he collected his ships at Marseilles and was so powerful that the senate commissioned him to represent the Republican party at sea, giving him all the powers which his father had held. When the Triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, murdered the governor, and took possession of the island, from which he commanded the trade routes to Africa and made constant attacks on the corn ships coming to Rome. This, however, was only one of the many grounds of enmity between him and Octavian, to whose sphere of government Sicily nominally belonged.

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As one of the few men surviving who had fought against Caesar he was a rallying-point for every one who hated Caesar's heir, and after the proscriptions he had given refuge to all those of his enemies who succeeded in escaping.

For Antony, therefore, Sextus was marked out as a natural ally against Octavian. But there were many reasons against accepting his offer of help, and Antony decided to visit Italy himself and discover Octavian's real intentions. Just at this time he was joined by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the son of Caesar's bitterest enemy, who after Philippi had taken half of the Republican fleet and started as a privateer on a large scale. With his squadron and the ships which he had built in Asia Antony was at the head of a strong fleet, but on arriving at Brundisium he found the harbour closed against him. The nearest available port was Sipontum, but when he sent a detachment, supported by cavalry supplied by Sextus, to occupy the town, Agrippa by a quick march forestalled him. At this crisis Octavian once again fell ill, and when later he arrived at Brundisium with several legions and faced Antony's camp he prudently refused to fight. In this he was supported both by his own and by Antony's men; and finally the centurions of both armies appointed Maecenas representing Octavian, Pollio representing Antony, and Cocceius Nerva a friend of both sides, to arrange peace.

Fortunately at this moment Fulvia, who had always stirred up enmity, died, and someone suggested that Antony should marry Octavian's sister, the virtuous

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Octavia. Who made the suggestion we are not told, but it is a significant fact that Antony soon afterwards arranged an equally advantageous marriage for Agrippa with the only child of the wealthy banker Atticus. In default of more definite evidence Shakespeare's historical imagination is not to be despised, and he gives the credit to Agrippa. In the scene of his greatest play, where he deals with the conference, he tells us the truth about Octavian, Maecenas, and Agrippa in six words. The three men enter talking together, and Octavian says to Maecenas: 'I do not know; ask Agrippa.' In that lightning flash we see the cautious Octavian, the inquisitive Maecenas, and the trusty Agrippa to whom all difficulties are referred; and it is Agrippa who later in the scene says:

'To hold you in perpetual amity,
To make you brothers, and to knit your hearts
With an unslipping knot, take Antony
Octavia to his wife; whose beauty claims
No worse a husband than the best of men;
Whose virtue and whose general graces speak
That which none else can utter. By this marriage,
All little jealousies, which now seem great,
And all great fears, which now import their dangers,
Would then be nothing: truths would be tales,
Where now half tales be truths: her love to both
Would, each to other and all loves to both,
Draw after her.'¹

However that may be, the two leaders were reconciled at Brundisium, Antony married Octavia, and the Treaty of Brundisium was signed. By it a new

¹ Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II, Sc. 2.

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partition of provinces was made, this time on a more equal basis. Antony took the East, Octavian the West, Scodra (Scutari) in Illyria being fixed as the dividing line; but any levies of soldiers made in Italy were to be shared. Sextus for the moment was left undisturbed in Sicily, Lepidus remained as governor of Africa with six legions of doubtful loyalty. As a proof of his friendship Antony executed Manius, who had been partly responsible for the Perusine War, and also informed Octavian that Salvidienus had offered to bring over the Gallic legions to him. How far the charge was true we do not know, for when Salvidienus was summoned to defend himself before the senate he committed suicide, and henceforth in all military matters Octavian depended on Agrippa.

The only person dissatisfied was Sextus Pompeius, who had hoped to be made Triumvir in the place of Lepidus; and Sextus at once began hostilities. He had command of the sea, and while one squadron of his fleet under Menas captured Sardinia and killed the governor whom Octavian had appointed, the others resumed their attacks upon the corn ships and cut off the supplies destined for Rome. The city was soon in danger of famine, and the people clamoured for peace at any price with Sextus, who now called himself 'son of Neptune.' Octavian answered by imposing fresh taxes for the vigorous prosecution of war, and in the riots which followed was in danger of his life until Antony summoned troops from outside Rome and quelled the disturbance by armed force. Finally, in the face of popular indignation and the

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havoc which Sextus with his pirate galleys could wreak on all sea-borne trade, the Triumvirs thought it best to offer him terms. The Romans with Sextus, especially Murcus who had brought him what remained of the Republican fleet, urged him to make peace ; his Greek captains, on the other hand, advised him to continue the pressure on Rome until he could get what terms he liked. At first he inclined to this latter course, and when Murcus was insistent he hired assassins to kill him ; and then crucified his slaves to create the impression that they had murdered their master. His mother and his wife, however, induced him at last to consent to a conference, and he met the Triumvirs at Misenum on the Bay of Baiae.

There, after long wrangling, a treaty was signed and sealed, and handed to the Vestal Virgins for safe keeping in Rome. By it Sextus agreed to withdraw all his men from Italy, to abstain from any acts of piracy, and to send to Rome all the grain normally contributed by Sicily and Sardinia. In return he was allowed to keep both islands in his own hands, to receive the revenues of the southern half of Greece, to be consul for the next year and admitted to the college of augurs. The slaves who had taken refuge with him and were serving in his army were to receive their freedom from their former masters, and all the proscribed Romans, except Caesar's actual assassins, were to be pardoned.

These negotiations took place on two platforms built out on sea, for both sides cordially distrusted each other. When all was settled Sextus invited Octavian, Antony, Agrippa, and Maecenas to a banquet on the

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flagship, which he bitterly remarked was his only home, since Antony was living in his father's house which should have been his. His guests accepted the invitation, but they came attended by armed men and with daggers concealed at their girdles. Nor was their caution unjustified. After the cups had passed round for some time, Menas whispered to his chief: 'Shall I cut the hawser and then cut their throats?' and Sextus replied: 'You should have done it without asking.'

CHAPTER III

SEA POWER AND THE PIRATES

ONE of the most striking facts in ancient history is the indifference, amounting often to actual dislike, which the Romans habitually felt for maritime adventure. When the peoples in early times came southwards from their inland pastures to the Mediterranean, those who entered Greece quickly assimilated the sea-craft which had made Crete and Phoenicia prosperous. Their kinsmen, however, who went westwards into Italy, finding there a country very lacking in natural harbours, remained obstinately a land people, and left the sea to the Etruscan adventurers who had made the long voyage to Italy from Asia Minor and brought with them the traditions of Aegean seamanship. In the course of five centuries Rome conquered all the Mediterranean lands, but until the time of Agrippa there were very few occasions in that period when she also had command of the Mediterranean waters.

The facts of history are borne out by the evidence of language and literature. In Latin there is no word which has the definite significance of our 'sea' and the Greek 'thalatta.' Of the four words in common use, *mare*, our 'mere,' originally meant a lake; *fretum*, our 'firth,' is a salt-water inlet; *pontus* and *pelagus* were

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borrowed from the Greek. Similarly there is no special word in harbour; for *portus* is only another form of *porta*, the city gate, passing from which you entered into a hostile and dangerous world. Even more convincing is the evidence of literature. The most Roman of all their poets is Horace, and of the sea Horace says: '*illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat*,' 'about his breast were oak and triple brass, who first entrusted his frail bark to the boisterous main.' And as Horace both disliked and feared the sea, he is disposed to think that seafaring is sinful: 'Vainly did heaven in foresight sever the lands with the estranging ocean, if in despite our impious barques lightly leap over the waters which they should never touch.' These are very different sentiments from those expressed in our sea songs—'A wet sheet and a flowing sea,' etc.: but Horace represents the general Roman view.

In the early days of her history, when Rome was engaged in fighting with the other rustic tribes of Italy and gradually bringing the centre of the peninsula under her control, she had little incentive to consider maritime affairs. Her seaport at Ostia, which under the rule of her Etruscan overlords had been the centre of a flourishing trade, was allowed to fall into decay; and when the town of Antium, which possessed both a fleet and a good harbour, passed into her hands, 358 B.C., the ships were broken up and their beaks nailed up as ornaments to the speaker's platform in the Roman Forum. But towards the end of the fourth century B.C. she came into contact with the Greek cities which fringed the southern shores of

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Italy from Neapolis to Tarentum and depended for their prosperity on the sea; and then even Rome was compelled to acknowledge the existence of the alien element.

Her first sea affair, however, was not encouraging. In 282 B.C. a small detachment of ten Roman ships appeared off Tarentum in contravention of an agreement by which she had undertaken not to pass the Lacinian promontory. The Tarentines promptly captured the entire squadron, executed the commander, and sold the crews into slavery; eventually paying a heavy price for their naval success when their ally Pyrrhus was defeated at Beneventum in 275 B.C., and their town was taken. But it was not long after this that the great struggle began between Rome and Carthage for the possession of Sicily, and in the course of that struggle Rome suddenly transformed herself for a time into a naval power. She did more, and at the end of the war had undisputed command of the sea, although before the war began Carthage had warned her that no Roman without permission could even wash his hands in salt water.

The Romans well deserved their success, but it was a success not due to seamanship but to energy and adaptive skill in building ships, to energy and adaptive skill in fighting sea battles as though they were battles on land, and above all to a steady patriotism which refused to be discouraged even when fleet after fleet was lost by the incapacity of their commanders. Hostilities began in 264 B.C., and within a year the Romans, using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme

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as model, built 120 ships and manned them with their naval allies. The first squadron they sent out was captured, but the main force under Duilius, using their boarding bridges at Mylae, destroyed nearly half of the Carthaginian fleet. A second and fiercer battle off Ecnomus, in which some three hundred thousand men were engaged, was less decisive ; but it enabled the Romans to land an army under Regulus on African soil. Then fortune turned ; the Roman army was defeated, and the admiral sent to bring the survivors home lost three-quarters of his ships in a storm. A new fleet of 220 vessels was built at once and sailed again to Africa, only to be destroyed once more by a combination of bad seamanship and bad weather. Undaunted the Romans raised a third fleet of 200 sail and sent it to blockade Lilybaeum in Sicily ; but half the ships were captured by the Carthaginians and the other half were wrecked. Six years of desultory land fighting in Sicily followed, and then Rome made one last effort. By private subscription a war fleet of 200 ships was built and manned, which engaging an inferior Carthaginian force off the Aegatian Islands in 241 B.C. won the victory which ended the war.

The acquisition of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia which followed after the First Punic War gave Rome three provinces overseas, but no attempt apparently was made to organize a permanent fleet for their protection. The establishment of a Roman colony at Brundisium 244 B.C., however, brought with it a certain responsibility in Adriatic waters, and Rome's next sea operations were directed against the Illyrian

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pirates. The small independent kingdom of Scodra was the centre from which these corsairs worked ; and their swift galleys with two banks of oars, the Liburnians, took toll from all the Adriatic shipping and extended their ravages as far south as Elis and Messene. The Archaean League was powerless against them, and at last the Romans consented to send two envoys to Scodra to demand that the pirates should cease their operations. To this Queen Teuta answered that Rome had no right to interfere ; for in Illyria piracy was a lawful business : and to enforce her arguments she had the two envoys put to death on their way home. The Roman senate was negligent in some respects, but it was not likely to remain indifferent to the murder of two of its members. In 229 it was decided to read Queen Teuta a sharp lesson. A fleet of 200 ships was hastily built and equipped, the pirate strongholds were demolished, and Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia as allies were admitted into the Roman system.

The Illyrian affair was Rome's first contact with organized piracy ; and it may be well here to give a brief account of what was until Agrippa's day one of the greatest scourges of the ancient world. From the earliest times piracy was endemic in the Mediterranean, and economic and geographical conditions both combined to favour its growth. The Mediterranean coast lands are in many places barren and unable to support any number of people, while their many bays and creeks encourage landsmen to venture on the water and to take to the sea as a means of livelihood.

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So it is not surprising that many bold spirits preferred naval enterprises of a dubious sort to the hard labour of agriculture so grimly described by Hesiod, or to the scanty profits and abundant risks on which the honest merchant had to reckon. Unless the sea trader had protection the pirate possessed every advantage over him. The trade routes and the seasons of sailing were fixed, and the pirate in his swift well-armed cutter had only to wait under the shelter of some island or promontory and then attack the slow sailing merchant vessel off its guard. In the absence, therefore, of any power strong enough and wise enough to use preventive measures effectively, pirates were a perpetual menace not only to sea-borne trade, but also to any unfortified towns on the coast.

Before the Achaeans and the Dorians came into Greece it would seem that the Minoan Empire, with Crete as its centre and Cnossus as its chief city, ensured order in the eastern Mediterranean ; and as early as 2000 B.C. we know that a flourishing commerce went on between Egypt, Crete, and the coast cities and islands of the Aegean Sea, while by another route, starting at the head of the Adriatic, tin was brought south from Britain and amber from the Baltic. The ruins of the great palace of Minos still testify to the luxury in which the Cretans lived ; and as their wealth was derived chiefly from foreign trade and from the tribute paid them by the coast towns under their protection, it is plain that the sea under their rule must have been secure.

After the destruction of Cretan sea power and

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the sack of Cnossus, 1400 B.C., there ensued a long period of anarchy in which piracy became a recognized and almost respectable occupation: 'this trade,' as Thucydides says, 'involved no disgrace but brought with it rather something of glory.' Accordingly in the society depicted by Homer we find that the first question usually put to a stranger was, 'Are you a pirate?' the words not being meant as an insult but as a polite request for information. With piracy kidnapping was often combined, and for the latter a pretence of trade was a useful disguise. A ship would appear one day off shore, and when the women of the place came down to the beach the pretended merchants would first display their wares and then, if the opportunity occurred, carry off the more comely of their customers and sell them for slaves. The first chapters of Herodotus give many incidents of this kind, and to the rape of Io from Argos and Europa from Tyre the historian attributes the beginning of enmity between Europe and Asia, adding the sage remark that if the women had not been willing they would never have been ravished.

Kidnapping women and children was a comparatively safe trade and was largely in the hands of the Phoenicians. A bolder course was pursued when an energetic man gathered together a band of followers, fitted out a few vessels, and sailed, like our Francis Drake, across the seas in search of adventure and gold. Such was the case with Pelops, son of Tantalus, who sailed from Asia Minor to the western coast of the Peloponnese, carried off the treasure, and incidentally

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the daughter, of the king of Elis, and finally established himself as an independent ruler in golden Mycenae to become the ancestor of King Agamemnon. In other instances a whole community, like the Taphians, would take to piracy and with their fleet would swoop down upon a small coast town, plunder the houses, and carry off the inhabitants. For a time, therefore, it was safer to build towns some way inland, and we find ancient Athens on its Acropolis and Corinth on its great rock citadel some miles from the sea. There were times again when a people would leave their homes, for this was an age of migrations, and settling in a new country would practise piracy on a large scale. Of this we have an example in the Etruscans, the Tyrrhenian sea-raiders, one of whose ships, according to the legend, kidnapped the roving god Dionysus, and by his divine power found their galley filled with fierce monsters and its mast changed into a vine.

The *Odyssey* is full of stories of piracy, kidnapping, and sea adventure successful and unsuccessful. There is the tale of the swineherd Eumaeus who was kidnapped as a child by Phoenicians working in collusion with his nurse. There is the tale of the Cretan raider whose foray on Egypt proved disastrous both to himself and his companions. And there is the tale of Odysseus' adventure, a typical example of an unsuccessful grab and run raid : ¹

'The wind carried me from Ilium and brought me to the Cicones, to Ismarus; there I sacked the city and slew the

¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, IX, 39-53.

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men; and taking out of the city their wives and many possessions we divided them, that no man for me might go deprived of his equal share. Then in truth I ordered that we should retreat with nimble foot, but they in their folly did not obey. Then were much wine a-drinking, and many sheep they slew by the sea shore and cattle with crumpled horns and shambling feet. Meanwhile the Cicones went and called to the Cicones who were their neighbours, more numerous and more warlike, dwelling on the mainland, well skilled in fighting from chariots, and when need be on foot. They came then, like the leaves and flowers in spring, in the morning early. Then indeed an evil fate from Zeus stood by us, ill-fated men, that we might suffer many a grief.'

The dark ages of Greek history were brought to an end by the rise, first of the Persian, and then of the Athenian Empire; and during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the pirates found their trade seriously curtailed. The Phoenicians, who supplied the Persian king with his navy, established a line of stations as far west as Carthage, and effectually policed the western Mediterranean, keeping also a close watch at the straits of Gibraltar to prevent any vessel passing into the outer ocean. The Athenian war fleet performed the same service in the eastern waters and shepherded the Black Sea trade into Piraeus. Towards the end of the fourth century B.C., when the sea power of Athens had declined and the Persian Empire was overthrown by Alexander, their place was taken by other powers. In the troubled period after Alexander's death there was a recrudescence of lawlessness, but this was more akin to privateering than to piracy; and as

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soon as the Ptolemies established themselves firmly in Egypt they joined the Seleucid kings of Syria, the mercantile state of Rhodes, and the new kingdom of Pergamum in keeping the sea reasonably safe.

In the course of the second century B.C., however, all these four powers, together with Carthage and Macedonia, were either conquered, annexed, or seriously weakened by Rome, who sapped their strength but made no effort herself to perform their police work at sea. When Syria was struck down at the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C., she was left, in the Roman phrase, to stew in her own juice; Egypt under the later Ptolemies was deprived of all initiative and allowed her fleet to decay; Carthage and Corinth were both razed to the ground in 146 B.C., and their ships were broken up; Pergamum by its last king's will fell into Roman hands in 133 B.C.; even Rhodes, whose fleet during this century was of the greatest service and had proved the surest guardian of order in the Aegean Sea, was regarded with jealous eyes by the Roman Senate after 146 B.C., and was weakened in every possible way.

The result was what might have been expected; there was an instant revival of piracy; the cat was away and the mice began to play again. This time the pirate strongholds were not in Illyria, close to Roman waters, but in Cilicia at the south-east end of the Mediterranean, so that at first the Roman senate could comfortably close its eyes to what was happening. Cilicia is a mountainous district stretching south from the Taurus to the sea and facing the island of Cyprus.

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Its rocky headlands and the many small islands lying off its coast made it a natural breeding-place for pirates; and while the Seleucids and the Ptolemies had the power they always kept it under close observation. But, as we have said, by the last quarter of the second century the Syrian and Egyptian fleets had ceased to be effective, and in their absence the Cilician raiders, starting from their fortified base at Coracesium, were soon sweeping the eastern seas from Cyrene to the Peloponnese, kidnapping, plundering merchant ships, and carrying their prisoners in thousands to the great market at Delos from which Rome drew her supply of slaves. For years the senate did nothing, and even when in 102 B.C., under pressure from the trading interests at Rome, Marcus Antonius was sent out with a fleet provided by the maritime allies, nothing much happened except that Cilicia was annexed as a Roman province and Antonius was given the honour of a triumph.

How little Antonius really accomplished was seen when fifteen years later the wars against Mithradates began and the pirates appeared as the recognized allies of the King of Pontus. Both Sulla and Lucullus in their Eastern campaigns found them a serious danger, and their fleets were soon sufficiently strong to sail westwards and help Sertorius in his attempt to establish an independent state in Spain, as well as to assist the slave leader Spartacus who, in 72 B.C., was terrorizing all the open country in Southern Italy. Their numbers were continually being swollen by outlaws, and before long their squadrons were to be seen in every part of

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the Mediterranean and no coast town was safe. The situation was almost incredible, but one quotation from Cicero will show to what depths of ignominy the Roman government had fallen. The orator is describing the condition of affairs at the beginning of the year 67 B.C. :

‘What place in all the sea had so strong a defence that it was safe, or was so hidden away that it escaped notice? Who went on a voyage without facing the danger either of death or slavery, seeing that he had to sail either in the winter or when the sea was full of pirates? What province under your control at this time was safe from these raiders? What source of revenue had you which was really secure? Which of your allies did you defend? Whom did you protect with your fleets? How many islands do you suppose were left desolate? How many allied cities were either abandoned in fear or captured by the pirates? But why am I speaking of distant lands? Once, once it was Rome’s way to fight her battles far from home and with the sure shield of her might to defend not her own dwellings but the fortunes of her allies. Shall I tell you that in these latter years the sea has been closed to our allies, seeing that our own armies could never cross from Brundisium save in the depth of winter? Shall I complain that envoys coming to you from foreign peoples were taken prisoners, seeing that our own ambassadors had to be ransomed from slavery? Shall I say that the sea was not safe for traders, seeing that Roman magistrates and their lictors fell into the hands of pirates? Do you not know that the harbour of Caieta when it was full of ships was sacked by the pirates under our praetor’s eyes, and that from Misenum the children of the very man who before had engaged the pirates there were kidnapped and carried away? As for the lamentable incident at Ostia, what need is there for me to speak? I will only remind

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you that there almost within sight of Rome a fleet commanded by a Roman consul was by pirates captured and sunk.’¹

This last indignity roused even the senate to a sense of the necessity for vigorous action, and it was realized that isolated operations, such as those which Servilius had conducted in Isauria and Metellus in Crete, were useless in dealing with the Cilicians who now commanded the whole Mediterranean. Moreover the people of Rome were beginning to suffer from the shortage of corn supplies caused by the pirates ; and a starving mob is dangerous. Accordingly in January 67 B.C. the tribune Gabinius brought forward a bill to appoint one man with unlimited powers for three years on sea and for fifty miles inland over the whole Mediterranean ; and to this proposal, although it contravened the cardinal principle of the Roman constitution, the senate reluctantly agreed. Pompey accepted the post, and completed his arrangements so quickly that active operations against the pirates began early in the spring. The Mediterranean and the Black Sea were divided into thirteen districts, each one under the control of a capable commander, fleets manned by the maritime allies were equipped and stationed at various strategical points, and Pompey himself, with a powerful squadron, starting from Gibraltar proceeded to sweep the pirates eastward. Those who took refuge in their accustomed hiding-places on land were captured by troops detailed for the purpose, and within forty days the western Mediterranean as far as Italy

¹ *Pro Lege Manilia*, Ch. XI.

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was cleared. The Cilician fastnesses in the East still remained, and to storm them fresh preparations were thought necessary. Before the final attack was made two large fleets were collected at Rhodes and the Piræus, and a land army was equipped with siege engines. A desperate sea battle off Coracesium ended in the pirates' defeat, and soon after their fortress with its huge stores of plunder fell into Pompey's hands. Many of the pirates died fighting, but to those who surrendered Pompey granted easy terms, and some at least abandoned piracy for a gentler mode of life. One of these reformed characters was the old Corycian whom Virgil many years later found on his little plot of light soil near Tarentum, growing flowers for the Roman market and fruit and green-stuff for himself, 'and in content he equalled the wealth of kings.'¹

Pompey was a skilful general and an excellent organizer, but he had no clearer conception of the importance of sea power than had the rest of his fellow citizens. He performed the task which he had undertaken in a wonderfully short time and with brilliant success; but when the pirates were beaten and for the moment driven off the seas, he did not think that any further measures were necessary. His fleet was disbanded, each contingent returning to the allied maritime state from which it had come, and no attempt was made to set up a permanent navy directly under the control of the central government. It is true that the maritime states were instructed to

¹ Virgil, *Georgics*, IV, 125.

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keep their war-ships ready for service, but what usually happened was that the Roman provincial governor put the money paid for the naval supplies into his own pocket, and blandly declared that war-ships were unnecessary.

Pompey cleared the sea of pirates in 67 B.C.: in 44 B.C. their fleets were as dangerous as ever, and this time they were under the command of a Roman. We have seen in our last chapter how Sextus Pompeius as pirate chief was able to treat on equal terms with Octavian and Antony, and we may now resume our narrative with the events that followed after the treaty of Misenum. The terms of that arrangement freed Octavian from the anxiety he had felt about the corn supply of Rome, and it was decided that he and Agrippa should go to Transalpine Gaul, examine conditions there on the spot, and discover how far Salvidienus had undermined the loyalty of the Gallic legions. On their arrival they found there was no reason for alarm as regards the troops, but that there were ominous signs of unrest among the Gallic tribes who seemed at any moment likely to begin hostilities.

Agrippa, therefore, agreed to remain behind as governor of the province and to take such military measures as the situation demanded, while Octavian returned to Italy. In the next year Agrippa had his first experience as an independent commander at the head of a large army, for the Aquitanians in south-west Gaul, whom Caesar's lieutenant, Publius Crassus, had subdued in 56 B.C., broke out into revolt. We have no details of the campaign that followed, but we

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know that after fierce fighting Agrippa won a decisive victory. He had by that time been appointed consul designate for the next year, 37 B.C., and to celebrate his victory and his new office he struck an issue of gold and silver coins in Gaul bearing on one side the heads of Julius Caesar and Octavian, and on the other the inscription, 'M. Agrippa Cos. Desig.' His stay in Gaul on this occasion, however, was destined to be of brief duration, and it was not until later in his life that he carried out the great works which we shall describe in another place. The revolt of the Aquitanians in the south-west was followed by disturbances on the northern frontier of the province, and he had just crossed the Rhine when he was recalled by Octavian to deal with a more pressing danger.

In Agrippa's absence things had not been going well in Italy. The signing of the treaty of Misenum had been the occasion of public rejoicing at Rome, but the people's expectation of increased supplies of food was soon disappointed, and Octavian began to be unpopular. He complained to Sextus that the corn which had been promised from Sicily had failed to materialize, but Sextus retorted that he himself had not received the revenue he had been promised from the Peloponnese, and to recompense himself he incited his pirates to fresh acts of brigandage. It was obvious that the peace which had been patched up between the two could not last, and their disputes were further embittered when Menas deserted Sextus and coming to Rome was warmly welcomed by Octavian

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and made a Roman knight. This was definitely an unfriendly act on Octavian's part, and both sides prepared for war. Antony and Lepidus were quite content to see the two combatants exhaust their strength and found good reasons for standing aside, so that Octavian had to depend upon his own resources and the dubious advantage of Menas' advice.

The first engagement took place in the Straits of Messina, Sextus' fleet being under the command of another Greek named Demochares. As usual when Octavian personally took part in any military operations, especially operations by sea, the battle brought him little credit. The pirates, well disciplined and hardened by long years of naval warfare, were far too strong for his hastily raised squadrons, and after suffering considerable losses he was compelled to retreat. A storm then sprung up, and many of the ships which had escaped from the fight were driven ashore and wrecked. Octavian himself was probably extremely unwell, for he was never strong of stomach; and when he finally reached land he was within an ace of being kidnapped by some pirate galleys which he mistook for his own ships. Fortunately he had still Agrippa to call upon, and he decided to leave to him the rest of the campaign.

In answer to the summons Agrippa came southwards with all speed. He had no more experience in naval affairs than had Octavian; but he was a military genius, which Octavian was not, and like Napoleon he had the priceless gift of self-confidence. He found himself faced by the same situation that had faced Marius

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in 102 B.C., and was to face Kitchener in A.D. 1914: from very raw material he had to raise, train, and equip a force capable of engaging an enemy trained to battle and already emboldened by success. There was no possibility in this campaign of calling on the maritime allies, for they were in Antony's sphere of government. Maecenas had been sent to him to ask for assistance and had received vague promises; but he was very reluctant to take any active part against Sextus. Agrippa was left to his own resources.

As regards ships there was no great difficulty; timber was plentiful, Romans were never happier than when they were building, nor did they mind whether their material was brick, stone, or wood, their product houses, roads, or ships. The crews for the ships offered a harder problem; no Roman would willingly pull an oar or hoist a sail, and finally twenty thousand slaves were given their freedom and enrolled as sailors for the new fleet. There still remained the question of training, for skill in seamanship and naval tactics can only be acquired on blue water, and the pirates controlled all the sea off Sicily and the south-west coast of Italy. There were no natural harbours on that coast such as we possess at Portsmouth, Pembroke Dock, and Rosyth, and yet it was absolutely necessary to have some sheltered piece of water, protected from hostile attack, where the new levies might learn the first elements of naval warfare.

Luckily Agrippa, like most great generals, had a keen eye for geographical features, and a survey of the southern coast showed him that there was one

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place where skilled engineering could create the shelter which nature had neglected to provide. That place was Lacus Avernus, a deep lake about half the size of our Derwentwater, surrounded by steep hills which gave shelter and also supplied abundance of timber for shipbuilding. Avernus was some distance inland, and between it and the sea there lay a larger and much shallower lake, the Lacus Lucrinus, with a narrow causeway on its seaward side connecting Baiae with Puteoli. The difficulties in turning this marshy lagoon into a naval base were very great, but Agrippa surmounted them, and his engineering work here is one of the greatest achievements in Roman history. The causeway was of ancient origin, and its name, Via Herculanea, was said to be derived from the fact that Hercules had built it when he was driving off the cattle of the robber Cacus. Made of earth and loose stones it formed a very inadequate barrier in stormy weather, and Agrippa's first task was to reinforce it with concrete and turn it into a solid stone structure. The Lucrine Lake was taken next and dredged until it was deep enough to admit ships of war. Then a channel was cut from it through the neck of land into Avernus, and two entrances to the sea were made at either end of the seaward dam, one near Baiae, the other at Puteoli; and to the new harbour, the first that the Romans had ever made, Agrippa gave the name Portus Julius, in honour of his friend.

It is difficult to-day to find any traces of Agrippa's work in the marshy lagoon which is called Maricello, for an earthquake in A.D. 1538 caused the disappear-

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ance of the Lucrine Lake and considerably raised the level of the adjacent land. But we know the impression which it made on his contemporaries by the references to it in the three chief poets of the Augustan age, Horace, Propertius, and Virgil. Horace is brief : ¹

seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum.

‘Whether heaven grants you more years or this winter be your last, which now with concrete barriers breaks the force of the Tyrrhene sea.’

Propertius, in his elegy on the death of Marcellus at Baiae, is more explicit : ²

clausus ab umbroso qua ludit pontus Averno
et sonat Herculeo structa labore via.

‘Where the sea sports barred from Avernus shade,
And smites the road that Hercules once made.’

Virgil, the greatest of the three, in four lines gives a complete picture : ³

an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra
atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,
Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernus?

‘Shall I tell of our harbours and the barriers set to the Lucrine, and how the sea chafes and roars loud, where the Julian waters sound afar as the waves pour back and the Tyrrhene tide comes racing up the channels of Avernus?’

When the harbour works were finished, the ships that had been built under Agrippa’s supervision in

¹ Horace, *Odes*, I, xi, 4.

² Propertius, III, xviii, 1.

³ Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 161.

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various parts of Italy were collected, and the training of the crews began. The galleys were heavy craft, standing high out of the water, and built not for speed but for fighting at close quarters. As for the methods which Agrippa used in turning land-lubbers into sea-dogs, they were very similar to those which in Marius' time had won for his new levies the name of 'Marius' mules.' Month after month the procedure was the same, monotonous but extremely salutary. When the weather was stormy the ships were sent out into the open sea, so that the marines might get their sea-legs and the oarsmen and pilots gain experience in handling their craft in rough water. When it was calm, and there was any likelihood of the pirate ships appearing on the offing, the fleet was kept in harbour and the men were trained in mimic battles at close quarters.

Meanwhile, Agrippa himself invented two new devices which next year were used with signal success. The first was an adaptation of the wooden towers which were commonly employed in ancient warfare when towns were besieged, the assailants being thus brought level with the top of the town walls. Agrippa made them collapsible so that they could be hidden out of sight; and it was only when the two ships were broadside on that they were raised and his men from their top poured down their missiles upon the enemy's deck. The other was an improvement on the ordinary grappling irons, on the principle of the life-saving rockets now used by our coastguards. The *barpax*, as he called it, was a block of wood about

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eight feet long, covered with iron and with a ring at each end. To one end the grappling iron was fixed, to the other stout ropes were attached. The whole instrument was shot by a catapult from a distance, and when the grapnel caught the ropes were drawn in on a windlass until the two ships were brought together.

The training continued all through 37 B.C., and in the winter of that year Antony at last fulfilled the promise of help which he had made twelve months before, handing over 130 ships in exchange for a thousand picked soldiers and the promise of twenty thousand more when he began his Parthian campaign. By the summer of 36 B.C. all was in readiness, men, ships, and equipment; and Agrippa prepared for what was to be the last campaign waged by Rome against the pirates. It would have been possible to start in May, but Octavian was superstitious and wished to wait for the month whose name had recently, in honour of his adopted father, been changed from Quintilis to Julius. On July 1st, therefore, after the ritual acts of purification had been performed, the fleet left harbour and moved southwards to Sicily. Simultaneously the ships which Antony had provided sailed east from Tarentum under Statilius Taurus, while a third squadron under Lepidus came north from Africa, the plan being that the three converging forces should meet in Sicilian waters.

The scheme was well arranged, but it failed in execution owing to a violent storm which drove some

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ships out of their course and damaged others. Octavian, who had been on board Agrippa's flagship, immediately returned to Italy, sending Maecenas to Rome to reassure the populace. Agrippa, for his part, hastily repaired his ships and was soon fighting his first sea battle. The pirate fleet was lined up along the northern shore of Sicily, and the two forces met near Mylae, where Duilius two centuries before this had defeated the Carthaginians. Fortune once again favoured the Romans, and after a fierce struggle the pirate galleys, which were of much lighter draught, retired into shallow water where Agrippa's ships could not follow. The battle was indecisive, but it was so far favourable that Octavian, who had been waiting on the mainland, thought it safe to cross to Sicily with Antony's ships and attack Tauromenium, the modern Taormina. But Sextus was on the watch, and before Octavian could take the town he found himself beset by sea and land. His usual ill-fortune in battle attended him ; his army was penned in without provisions, his fleet was heavily defeated at sea ; and when once more he escaped to Italy it is said that he begged one of his followers to kill him.

In his despair he had for the moment forgotten Agrippa, whose success soon more than counterbalanced this reverse. After the battle of Mylae he captured the fortress of Tyndaris, and it seemed as if all the strongholds in north Sicily, from which the pirates drew their supplies, would fall into his hands. Sextus saw that unless he could win a decisive victory at sea his position would steadily grow worse, and encouraged

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by his success against Octavian he determined to risk an engagement. The final battle took place on September 3rd, 36 B.C., at Naulochus, a few miles from Mylae; and here Agrippa in sole command had to face the full strength of the pirate fleet. Octavian was present at the battle, but as a non-combatant possibly suffering again from sea-sickness, for the symptoms of that distressing malady correspond with Antony's taunt: ¹ 'He could not even look at the battle line without blenching, but lay on his back with his eyes fixed on the sky until he heard that Agrippa had routed the enemy.'

Of the battle, which in the sequel was to prove one of the most momentous events in the history of ancient civilization, we have no contemporary account. None of the Augustan poets refer to it, and Velleius Paterculus, writing in the reign of Tiberius, gives it six words without mentioning it by name. Augustus himself, in the record which he wrote of his administration, is equally brief. 'I freed the sea from pirates'—the statement would be more exact if we substitute 'Agrippa' for 'I'—'and about thirty thousand slaves captured in that war, who had run away from their masters and taken up arms against the state, I handed over to their masters for punishment.'² The number shows how formidable the pirates had again become, and the probable fate of most of the thirty thousand was crucifixion, for in a large household of slaves an old pirate would have been of little use and a potential centre of disaffection.

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 16.

² *Res gestae*, 25.

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For details of Naulochus we have to depend on the two late Greek historians, Cassius Dio and Appian. Dio tells us one interesting fact, that the battle took place near the shore, where the land armies of both sides were drawn up and watched the engagement. But he then proceeds to give a painful imitation of the great passage where Thucydides describes the final battle in the harbour of Syracuse between the Athenian and the Syracusan fleets, and tells us little more of any value. Appian, as usual, indulges in less rhetoric, and gives a brief but credible account. He says that the pirate galleys did their best to disable Agrippa's ships by skilful manoeuvres, sweeping away the banks of oars and using their rams on bow and stern. In this they were only partly successful, and in the fighting Agrippa's invention of the protected grapnel played a decisive part. The iron casing on its long wooden pole rendered any attempt to cut the connecting ropes impossible, and when once two ships had been drawn together the Roman marines, leaping on board the enemy's deck, were too strong for the pirates. Twenty-eight of their galleys were sunk with their crews; the rest were nearly all either burnt or wrecked or captured. Of their leaders Demochares committed suicide, Apollopheanes surrendered; Sextus alone with seventeen ships, all that remained of the huge fleet, made his escape.

Naulochus was a glorious and decisive victory, but Agrippa's great achievement was not the defeat and destruction of one pirate fleet; that, as we have seen, had often been done before. It was rather the

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organization which he created after his victory at Naulochus to render piracy in the future impossible. He saw, what apparently no Roman before him had seen, that the only effective way of dealing with the scourge was for the central government to establish permanent naval bases and a regular navy under proper discipline, with trained crews and ships always in commission. He began by making three new ports to safeguard the western seas. The Lucrine Lake had well served its original purpose as a training-ground ; but it soon proved unsuitable as a permanent harbour, as its entrances were continually being blocked by silt, and it was finally given over to the oyster-beds which under the empire had such a reputation with Epicures.¹ Its place was taken by Misenum, a promontory at the northern end of the Bay of Naples, lying a little closer to the Lucrine than Sheerness lies to Whitstable, where a deep-water harbour was constructed with stone piers running from the shore, after the manner of our works at Dover. Misenum then became the headquarters of the western war fleet, with sub-stations at Baiae, Puteoli, and Ostia ; and from them all a close watch was kept over the Sicilian waters and the chief routes to Spain and Africa.

On the east coast of Italy, corresponding to Misenum on the west, was Ravenna, the headquarters of the Adriatic fleet with sub-stations at Aquileia and Brundisium. At that time Ravenna was a town like Venice, a maze of canals and salt lagoons three miles

¹ Instead of oysters the lake now provides the Neapolitans with their favourite fish, the spigola.

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from the sea. On the coast Agrippa built a new port, connected by a long causeway with the old city, large enough to hold 250 war-ships, with a tall lighthouse to mark the entrance ; the port itself, and the new settlement which quickly grew up round it, being called Classis, 'Fleet Town.' To-day nothing of this remains. The lagoons have disappeared, Ravenna now is four miles inland, with its famous pine woods between town and sea, and where the Roman galleys once rode at anchor is now a stretch of sandy beach. The same fate has also befallen Agrippa's third base, that which he established at Forum Juliense, the modern Fréjus on the Riviera, to protect the trade routes passing westwards to Marseilles. Here a Roman lighthouse 80 feet high is still standing, but all that is left of his harbour-works is the faint trace of the stone moles which formed the inner basin : all else is sand.

The three stations at Misenum, Ravenna, and Forum Juliense ensured the safety of western commerce ; and after Agrippa's death his scheme was extended to the eastern Mediterranean, where three more naval bases were established. The first of these was on the small island of Carpathus, lying between Rhodes and Crete, and like the latter island commanding the chief trade route between the eastern and the western Mediterranean. The second was on the island of Pharos off Alexandria, the second largest city of the Empire, from which the great corn ships started, carrying cheap food for the Roman proletariat. The third was at Seleucia, the port of Antioch on the Orontes, which came next in importance to Rome and

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Alexandria. Here we can still see the marvellous work of the Roman engineers who cut through the rock from the city to the sea for over half a mile. The masonry of their port is still in many places sound, and the plan of its walls and basins, piers, flood-gates, and defences can be clearly traced.

When Agrippa's organization was completed, and while it lasted, which it did for nearly three centuries, Rome became for the first time a sea power in the true sense of the word. The efficiency of the Imperial as compared with the Republican government was largely due to the command of the sea which the senate had wilfully neglected to secure. Lying in the centre of the Mediterranean, around which all her empire lay, Rome had the inestimable advantage of the inner lines, and now, when the sea at last was under her control, she could send her troops with equal ease to Spain, Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor. Even more important was the security which sea-borne trade enjoyed, a security which was one of the chief causes of the Empire's prosperity in the first two centuries of our era.

CHAPTER IV
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THE victory of Naulochus not merely cleared the sea of pirates, it also cleared from Octavian's path two dangerous rivals in the persons of Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus. After the battle Sextus, with what remained of his forces, sailed for the East, in the hope that he might come to terms with Antony and with his help continue the struggle. The Triumvir had just returned to Alexandria after his unsuccessful expedition against the Parthians when Sextus reached the coast of Asia Minor, and the pirate chief, hearing of his failure, determined with his usual duplicity to have two strings to his bow. He sent envoys to Antony offering him alliance, but he also sent others to the Parthian king making him the same proposal; meanwhile he set about raising troops among his robber friends in Cilicia. His second embassy, however, was intercepted on its way inland, and these envoys were taken as prisoners to Alexandria and confronted with the others, so that Sextus' treachery was exposed. Thereupon he threw off the mask, and with his bandits started raiding up and down the province of Asia, until at last he was captured by one of Antony's lieutenants, who hastily put him to death before Antony could revoke the order which he had given for his execution.

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Such was the end of Sextus. The elimination of Lepidus as a possible competitor for power was less spectacular but equally effective. After Naulochus he had joined Agrippa in blockading Messina, where the remnants of the pirates' land army had entrenched themselves, and when the corsairs sent offering to surrender he not only on his own responsibility accepted their terms but actually allowed them to plunder the town. At this his own legions, indignant at being deprived of their legitimate booty, began to consider the advisability of deserting him; and Octavian, who was always at his best in dealing with such situations and had Agrippa at his side, resolved to try a bold stroke. Riding into Lepidus' camp he called upon the legionaries to follow him: this they did, and their luckless commander had no alternative but to throw himself on Octavian's mercy. His life was spared, but he was expelled from the Triumvirate and forced to retire ignominiously into private life, of all his past dignities retaining only the harmless office of Pontifex Maximus, which he was allowed to keep till his death.

The year 36 B.C. was one of triumph both for Agrippa and Octavian. But there was no rest for either of them, and for the next two years they were together engaged in a long and difficult campaign, which included military operations in Illyria and Pannonia and naval operations along the Dalmatian coast. For these latter the war fleet which had fought at Naulochus was brought by Agrippa to the upper waters of the Adriatic, and probably had no great

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difficulty in rooting out and destroying the nests of pirates in the islands off the shore. But when the fleet had done its work, and Agrippa joined Octavian to begin the land campaign, he was faced with a much harder task. Of the people they had to fight and of the country through which they had to march, mountainous, arid, and desolate, we have the personal evidence of two writers: one of the second century, the other of the twentieth. Cassius Dio says of the people: ¹

‘They lead the most miserable existence of all mankind, for they are not well off either as regards soil or climate. They cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and what they do produce is of a very poor quality. Their winter is very severe and lasts the greater part of the year; barley and millet are their staple food and drink. For all that they are considered the bravest of all men of whom we have knowledge: they are very high spirited and very bloodthirsty, as men will be when they have nothing which makes good living worth while. These facts I know not from hearsay or from reading only; I learned them by actual experience, for I was once governor of their country.’

The more recent writer gives an equally vivid picture of the country: ²

‘An upland plateau of greyish-white rock, sloping away very gradually in front of them, and rising again beyond two great bleached mountains, white with the dull whiteness of paper or ashes. Slope beyond slope, range upon arid range, this vast pale landscape stretched away into the farthest distance, as empty and almost as desiccated as a slag-heap; near at hand the broken rocks were skinned

¹ Cassius Dio, XLIX, 36.

² Ann Bridge, *Illyrian Spring*, p. 203.

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over in places with a low scrub of rusty dwarf oak and juniper, only three or four feet high; but this scanty scrubby vegetation merely added to the prevailing sense of drought and desolation. There was not a house, an animal or a human being in sight—it was like looking on the skeleton of a world which had perished in a fire. They were in fact seeing for the first time a typical stretch of *karst* country, the high limestone tract which with a few interruptions stretches all down the hinterland of the Adriatic coast, from Trieste to the Bocche di Cattaro.'

Wild as is the country the highlanders who then lived in it were wilder still. One of their tribes, the Iapudes, had recently sacked the Roman colony of Tergeste, the modern Trieste, and unless Roman authority was to be definitely flouted a punitive expedition on a large scale was necessary. Starting from Senia (now Zeugg) Octavian marched inland and found three thousand mountaineers prepared to fight to the last in the hill-fortress of Metulum (now Vinilica). The struggle that followed recalls the exploits of Alexander in similar conditions, and it was not until Octavian, attended by Agrippa, put himself at the head of a storming party, like his great exemplar, that the place was taken. The army then marched into Pannonia and laid siege to the fortified town of Siscia at the confluence of the rivers Rulpa and Save. The reduction of Siscia was followed by further successes at Promona and Setovia, not far north of Spalato, and by the end of the year 34 B.C. Dalmatia and Illyria, which for many years had been a constant source of trouble, were completely pacified.

In these campaigns Octavian played as prominent a

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part as Agrippa himself, on several occasions risking his life and finally bringing the whole business to a successful conclusion. But in the next year, 33 B.C., Agrippa comes again into the foreground of the picture. It was plain to Octavian and his advisers that the final struggle for mastery against Antony could not be much longer delayed, and before that struggle began it was vital that Octavian should have the support of all classes in Rome firmly assured him. Of the three orders—senate, knights, and people—only one, the knights, could be definitely relied on. The wily Maecenas remained all his life a member of the equestrian order, and on this occasion he answered for its loyalty. Bankers, merchants, and money-lenders saw in Octavian the promise of stability and order, always so dear to moneyed interests; and their plutocratic patriotism was carefully fostered by the new class of professional writers who fed out of Maecenas' hand.

On the senate, however, which was by no means the subservient body that it afterwards became, Antony had many supporters. In the Dalmatian campaign Octavian had increased his military reputation, but the victor of Philippi was regarded as by far the better general, and most of the senators were chiefly anxious to be on the winning side. The senate then was a doubtful quantity; and the feelings of the people were even more uncertain. The Roman mob had frequently in the past exercised the disproportionate influence that Paris has usually possessed in French history; and the populace was not too friendly to Octavian. The qualities which commended him to the knights won

him no favour with poorer folk, and in his first period he was far less popular than Sextus and Antony. On several occasions he had been received in public with jeers and even threatened with violence; and it was felt now that a vigorous attempt must be made to conciliate popular feeling and stir up enthusiasm for the new régime. So Agrippa, as usual, was called in, for, as Octavian rightly saw, he, the man of the people, was better fitted to deal with the situation than either of his colleagues. Agrippa had already been praetor and consul, but he consented to become aedile for the year 33 B.C., and to show the people what material advantages they might expect if Octavian proved victorious.

In normal times the curule aedileship was the first step in the *cursus honorum* whose summit was the consulship, and it could not be held until a man was thirty-three. But these were not normal times. Agrippa was barely thirty, but he had already held the two higher offices; and although twelve years previously he had been a youth of very modest means he was now an extremely wealthy man. One of the best features in Octavian's character was gratitude for services rendered, and after the victory of Naulochus, besides the complimentary honours of crowns and banners, he had given Agrippa great estates in Sicily, perhaps the confiscated property of Sextus and Lepidus. These estates were managed for him by a procurator, Horace's friend Iccius,¹ and brought in a large yearly

¹ Horace, *Epistles*, I, xii, 1 :

'Fructibus Agrippae Siculis quos colligis, Icci.'

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revenue to which at the end of 34 B.C. was added Agrippa's share in the spoils of the Dalmatian campaign. Furthermore, in 37 B.C., Agrippa had married Caecilia Attica, the only child of Cicero's friend, the aged banker Atticus, and his father-in-law could afford to give him almost unlimited credit. But even Agrippa's wealth could hardly have been sufficient alone, and there can be little doubt that Octavian contributed generously to the expenses of an office undertaken mainly for his benefit.

The duties of an aedile in Republican times were many and various. All the public buildings in Rome—temples, monuments, streets, and sewers—were under his care ; although this was a duty which at this time had been for two generations seriously neglected. He also had charge of the markets, and especially of the supply of corn from Sicily and Africa which was sold under cost price to the people ; but here also, chiefly owing to the pirates' attacks on the corn ships, there had been failures in administration, which had caused grave hardship. The aediles were also commissioners of police with certain magisterial functions ; but in the absence of any citizen police force their duties here were almost nominal. Most important of all, at least in popular estimation, was the obligation laid upon the aediles not only to superintend many of the public games, but also to pay for the cost of them out of their own pocket. The aedileship in practice was an effective check on any poor man gaining high office. Unless he celebrated the games with suitable splendour the people put a black mark against him, and there was

little chance of his being elected praetor or consul. This ruled out the needy aristocrat in most cases, and it was only the boldest spirits, such as Julius Caesar, who overcame the difficulty by reckless borrowing.

In the course of the year there were at this time six of these *Ludi Sollemnes*, lasting together for fifty-nine days. They were the Roman Games, sixteen days (September 4-19); the Plebeian Games, fourteen days (November 4-17); the Games in honour of Ceres, eight days (April 12-19); the Floralia, six days (April 28-May 3); the Megalensia, eight days (April 3-10); and the Games in honour of Apollo, eight days (July 6-13). Of these six, as will be seen, three were held in the spring, two in the autumn, one only in the summer. But before we describe their attractions it will be well to give some details of an aedile's more serious duties, and to show the manner in which Agrippa carried them out.

Being what he was, Agrippa had no sentimental illusions as to the facts of life. He knew that the average man is content if he has decent surroundings, sufficient food and drink, a fair amount of work with a fair wage, some amusements, and a modicum of excitement. Of all these essentials except the last—and that was not of a very pleasant kind—the ordinary Roman citizen had for ten years been deprived: and Agrippa set himself to supply the deficiency. Even in its best days the senatorial government had been quite indifferent to the manner in which the people were housed. As Strabo ingenuously says: 'The old Romans were so bent on things and actions of more

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serious consequence for the Commonwealth that they paid little or no attention to the beauty of their city.' Under the Republic the very rich had their mansions on the hills, surrounded by gardens: the moderately wealthy lived in substantial houses built of concrete faced with brick, facing on the street but with a pleasant open courtyard in the rear; the mass of the people were crowded in ramshackle erections constructed largely of wood, always liable to catch fire and often shored up by huge timbers. Even the sewerage system and the water-supply in the centre of the city had been allowed to fall out of repair, and one of Agrippa's first tasks was to clean out the great central sewer dating from the time of the Tarquins, the *Cloaca Maxima*, whose arched outfall into the Tiber is still visible. Like the other two main sewers it received both surface water and sewerage from houses, so that Agrippa arranged that the surplus water from the aqueducts should be used for flushing purposes. To this sanitary work he gave his personal attention, and when the sewers were cleared, as Dio tells us, he took a boat and made an underground voyage through the *Cloaca Maxima*, which has an average height of fourteen feet and a breadth of eleven, is paved like a street, and vaulted with stone blocks.

He then took in hand the rebuilding of the poorer quarters of Rome, a work which gave employment for this and for many years to the stone-masons, carpenters, and artisans. In place of the old houses huddled in disorder he built 'insulae,' high blocks of tenement dwellings on island sites, and arranged them round

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open squares, which often had a fountain in their centre. We are told that Agrippa built five hundred of these fountains in different parts of the city, many of them adorned with statues and figures, such as the hydra which decorated the Lacus Servilius, where a few years before the heads of the proscribed had been thrown. Besides the fountains he provided one hundred and thirty water-distributing stations and three hundred large cisterns. But the story of his reorganization of the city's water-supply, which involved the repair of the three old aqueducts and the construction of two new ones, cannot be separated from his achievements as a builder, and must be reserved for another chapter.

The repair of sewers, the rebuilding of aqueducts, and the construction of new houses were works of public utility contributing to the general welfare of the people. Cheap food was assured by the supplies which were now coming in freely from Sicily and Africa, and were in a few years to be supplemented by the granaries of Egypt. Work was found by the great building schemes begun by Agrippa in 33 B.C., and continued for many years afterwards both by Agrippa himself and by Augustus. It only remained to provide the people with amusement and excitement; and these were lavished upon Rome by Agrippa during his year of office on a scale of splendour hitherto unprecedented, which became the standard for the next two centuries. For details of his munificence we have to depend on brief references in the historians. Dio, for example, tells us that while the games were being

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celebrated he took all the barbers of Rome into his pay and citizens were given free shaves and haircuts ; every one, men and women alike, was granted free admission for the year into the existing baths, and many new bath houses were built ; oil and salt were publicly distributed, and piles of commodities were often set out in the squares so that people might scramble for them ; on other occasions, and especially during performances at the theatre, tickets were showered down on the audience entitling the holder to a gift of money or clothes. But all our authorities agree that it was the magnificence of the shows which Agrippa gave in the circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre, which made the greatest impression on public opinion. After his time these places, together with the *Thermae*, became the centre of social life in Rome ; and of them, thanks to innumerable references in the writers of the Empire, a full account can be given.

We can picture for ourselves with fair accuracy the aspect of Rome on a day when Agrippa was presiding at the chariot races in the circus. The morning began with a procession which set out from the Capitol, crossed the gaily decorated Forum, and passed by way of the *Vicus Tuscus* towards the Palatine. Agrippa rode in front, standing in a lofty chariot drawn by white horses, while a slave held over his head the naval crown adorned with the beaks of ships, which had been given him after Naulochus as a special mark of honour. His tunic was embroidered with golden palm leaves, above it was a toga of Tyrian purple, also worked with gold, and in his hand he held an ivory

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sceptre surmounted by an eagle. Before his chariot walked flute-players, harpers, and trumpeters, and on either side of the car there was a throng of clients in white gowns. Images of the gods were borne along enthroned on open platforms and escorted by their priests. The streets were strewn with flowers and lined by cheering crowds ; and at last, amid the din of their acclamations, the procession passed through the middle gate of honour into the circus.

In the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills there is a level piece of ground somewhat under seven hundred yards long and one hundred and seventy yards wide, a place made by nature, as the Romans thought, for a race track. Under the Republic races had been held on the open ground, and it was here that Julius Caesar had built the first enclosed circus, the Circus Maximus, which, with the smaller Flaminian Circus, took the place for the Roman people of all our English race-courses. Agrippa enlarged it, and further additions were made by Nero and Trajan, so that in the end it could hold 180,000 people, about twice as many as our Wembley Stadium can contain. The track itself was a narrow oblong rounded at one end, and encircled by a range of buildings with shops of all kinds on the exterior facing the street and tiers of seats inside for the spectators. In the centre stood the obelisk which now adorns the Piazza del Popolo, and down the middle of the course there was a low wall, the 'spine,' with seven large egg-shaped balls ranged along it, which were apparently used to indicate the number of laps run in each race, one

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ball being taken down as each lap ended. To these we are told that Agrippa added seven bronze dolphins fixed on revolving bases, which were turned during the race for the same purpose, showing perhaps the completed half-laps while the eggs showed the full circle. At the straight end of the oblong was the starting-gate, in this case four compartments with folding doors behind which the harnessed chariot teams waited for the signal. At the rounded end were three pillars ; and here, where the chariots rounded the bend, accidents were frequent.

We must imagine that Agrippa has taken his seat in what we should call the royal box ; but it is hard for a northerner to imagine the noise and excitement in the vast enclosure beneath him. To match this scene we should have to bring Aintree, Epsom, and Wembley into one narrow valley, and have the Grand National, the Derby, and the Cup Final taking place together on one afternoon : and even then we should be outdone. Now Agrippa leans forward and drops the white cloth which is the starting signal. The gates fly open, and four chariots, each harnessed with four horses abreast, dash on to the course. One driver wears a white tunic, the second is in red, the third in blue, and the fourth in green ; for these are the colours of the four circus factions, to one of which each spectator belongs. The drivers are public characters, the idols of the mob, and in the first century of our era Scorpis, Crescens, Thallus, and Diocles were as famous as Fred Archer was fifty years ago and Gordon Richards is to-day. Betting is fast and furious, and the spectators

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wager not only on the result of each race, but on the total of races won by each colour in the course of the day. We do not hear of bookmakers, but the astrologers and fortune-tellers who haunted the purlieus of the circus did a brisk trade in prophecies, until Agrippa in this year, by an edict, banished the whole fraternity from Rome.

People sometimes went to the circus for other reasons than to see the races; and Ovid recommends it to gallants as a happy hunting-ground: ¹

‘And don’t forget the circus where
The gallant steeds contending race;
Full many a maiden visits there,
It is a most commodious place;
And you can say just what you mean,
No need for nods and winks as screen.

To start a talk should be your task:
Begin with something old and trite
And then pretend her aid to ask—
“Which are you backing, blue or white?
Whose is it?” If she knows the name
And says she’s backed it, do the same.’

Nor were chariot races the only competitions held within the circus enclosure. One of the most popular events of Agrippa’s year was the *Lusus Troiae*, the ‘Troy Sport,’ a show which he had given before in the year of his praetorship, and was now performed again in the circus, with the sons of senators taking part. It was a sort of musical ride on horseback,

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I.

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and Virgil ingeniously introduces a description of it in the account of the funeral games given by Aeneas : ¹

‘The leader himself bids the thronging people to clear the circus and leave a long space open. The youths ride in and before their parents eyes shine bright in level line, their steeds tight reined. Three in number are the bands of horsemen, and three the leaders who ride in front: twelve youths follow each captain in glittering band and though their company divides each leader still keeps level. First on horseback they ride round the ring: then the whip cracks, and in level line they part and break into three companies, and then again at the signal turn and charge one upon the other. Again they wheel, again they turn, facing one another in the lists, weaving circle on circle; and rousing in arms the mimicry of battle. Now they retreat, now with levelled spears they advance, and now in concord they ride together in one line.’

Athletic contests also took place in the circus, but they were not very popular for three reasons. Firstly, they were of Greek origin, and the genuine Roman regarded the Greeks as an inferior people. Secondly, they were not very exciting and not at all dangerous, so that after the circus they seemed tame. Thirdly, the Roman mob much preferred looking on at a competition to taking an active part itself. An athletic festival on the lines of the Greek Olympic Games was instituted to celebrate the victory of Actium, and was first held in 28 B.C. with Agrippa as president. But it was not a great success, and after the death of Augustus it was allowed to drop.

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, V, 556.

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Next in popular estimation to the circus came the amphitheatre, which satisfied the national taste for bloodshed as the circus satisfied the national taste for gambling, 'the two vices,' as a Roman author says, 'inbred in our people from their mother's womb.' The amphitheatre, where man fought against man, and wild beast against wild beast, was inherited from Republican times and was not like the circus a comparatively new amusement. A band of gladiators for public or private entertainment was even in the second century B.C. a common appanage of a senator's household; and when Julius Caesar was aedile in 65 B.C. he gave the people a show in which three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators fought to the death. In the last stormy period of the Republic these small private armies became a serious menace, and the senate passed an edict restricting the number of gladiators that any one man might own. But at that time there was no regular organization of the sport, and the first permanent amphitheatre was set up by Julius Caesar for his triumph in 46 B.C. In this wooden structure Agrippa gave his gladiatorial shows, and in 28 B.C. a permanent stone building was erected, which finally was superseded by the Flavian Amphitheatre, the Colosseum, which rose on its eighty arches in four stories to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and held fifty thousand spectators.

Under the Empire successful gladiators vied in popularity with chariot drivers, and although the rank and file were slaves, a young spendthrift when all his money was gone would often take service with

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the trainer of a band and make his appearance in the ring. He risked his life, but as compensation he had the chance of fame and the certainty of women's favours, for Roman ladies would often leave their husbands and their homes to follow a successful gladiator's fortunes. Juvenal tells us of one such case : ¹

'What were the charms that Eppia enthralled ?
What beauty made her willing to be called
A gladiator's wench ? He was no boy
This Sergius with whom she loved to toy.
His cheeks were rough ; his arms with wounds were scarred
That called for his discharge ; his face was marred
By a huge pimple, where his helmet set
Upon his nose ; his eyes with rheum were wet.
But then he was a gladiator bold !
That made him an Adonis to behold
That had more power her tender heart to move
Than sister, children, country, husband's love.'

The desperate contests of gladiators were the chief attraction of the amphitheatre ; but when the sight of human bloodshed palled, wild beasts were brought into the arena and matched either against armed men or against one another, bears against bulls, lions against elephants, a rhinoceros against a tiger. The more creatures, the more the mob was pleased, and we are told that on the day when the Colosseum was opened nine thousand animals, wild and tame, were butchered, many of them by women fighting in the ring. The last refinement of cruelty was when defenceless

¹ Juvenal, *Satires*, VI, 103.

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criminals were thrown to wild beasts, 'Christianos ad leones.'

The theatre came third in favour, although the plays which were given in the three buildings that Rome possessed were designed to stimulate sexual appetite rather than to delight the mind or purify the emotions. The least objectionable were the old Atellan farces with their stock characters transferred from Greek comedy to an Italian setting; Pappus the pantaloon, Bucco the greedy clown, Maccus the simpleton, and Dossennus the wise man. It is true that the plot of these pieces was monotonous, their language coarse, and their humour vulgar, but they were probably not much worse than our music-hall entertainments. The mimes, on the other hand, were in most cases definitely obscene, and their usual themes were adultery, rape, and love in all its grosser forms. The chief part was often taken by a woman—Theodora was a mime actress before she became Empress of Rome—and at the Feast of Flora it was customary for the performance to include women dancing naked on the stage.

The farces of the mime, however, were only preludes to the main piece, the *fabula saltica*, a play in dumb show with music. This was an entirely new form, which was introduced in Agrippa's time by two of Augustus' Greek freedmen, Pylades and Bathyllus, and under the Empire became by far the most popular of theatrical entertainments. The subject was usually one of those tales from Greek mythology, of which Plato and Queen Victoria so strongly disapproved,

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Jove sporting with Alcmena, Apollo pursuing Daphne, Adonis in the arms of Venus, Vulcan surprising Venus with Mars : or else it was a popular version of some Greek tragedy, Phaedra and Hippolytus, Oedipus and Jocasta, Heracles and Deianeira. The story was told in verse by a gaily dressed chorus standing at the side of the stage—the poet Lucan is said to have written fourteen of these librettos—and there was also a loud orchestra and very bright scenery. But these were only accessories, for the attention of the audience was fixed on one man, the *pantomimus*, who stood alone in the centre of the stage. He did not speak, but by facial expression, by gestures of the arms and hands, and by the carriage of his whole body he represented in turn all the characters of the play.

The circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre had existed before Agrippa's time, although in his aedileship he set for all of them a new standard of magnificence. We have still to describe the greatest of his innovations ; for when he built the first *Thermae*, the Bath-Palace, he introduced a new habit which profoundly influenced the social life of Rome for many generations. In fifth-century Athens a bath was usually taken at the end of the gymnastic exercises which formed part of the day's routine ; but it was of a very simple character. After a strigil scraper had been used to remove the sweat and sand accumulated in the course of a wrestling bout, some buckets of cold water were poured over the bather by a friend, and he then rubbed himself well with olive-oil from the flask which was part of his equipment. Cauldrons of hot water were also

at hand for those who required them ; and for this a small fee was paid to the attendant. But people who had no sense of propriety, like the shameless man in Theophrastus, would wait till the bathman was not looking, and then souse themselves quickly and make their escape.

Up till the end of the Second Punic War the Romans were equally simple in their habits, and a man took his weekly bath at home in the wash-house, *lavatrina*, close to the kitchen. But after they came into contact with the Greeks of Sicily and South Italy, they began to regard a daily bath as a necessity, and bathing establishments were opened under the supervision of the aediles with a charge of a farthing for admittance. These were quite modest places in private ownership, managed usually by freedmen with a few slave attendants, and consisted of only two rooms, one for men and one for women, the bath furnace being in the middle. Towards the end of the Republic they became slightly more elaborate, and were now divided into three sections. The first was the *frigidarium* for the cold bath, the second was the *tepidarium*, a waiting-room with a moderate temperature, the third was the *caldarium* for the hot bath, where the temperature was much higher. Some bathers took the cold bath first and then the hot, others reversed the process ; but all usually ended in the tepidarium where they were massaged and rubbed with oil.

This was the ordinary method until Agrippa's time ; his Bath Palace marks the beginning of a new era. He probably first conceived the idea in 33 B.C. when he

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was dealing with the water-supply of Rome, but the execution of his plans took a long time, and it was not until 19 B.C. that the completed *Thermae* was thrown open for public use. He began by marking out a wide stretch of ground in the *Campus Martius*, where he excavated a large artificial lake and a stream of water running from the lake to the Tiber. He then laid out the ground in gardens with shady walks and colonnades as resting-places and shelters from the sun. The total effect was somewhat like the Athenian gymnasia, the Lyceum, or the grove of *Academos*, but on a very much larger and more sumptuous scale. Finally, in the centre he built the Bath Palace, which served as a club, a restaurant, a reading-room, and a bathing establishment with every kind of bath then known, hot, tepid, cold, vapour, and shower.

To all this luxury the people were admitted free or at a very small charge, and unless there were games being given in the circus or the amphitheatre—in the later days of the Empire one hundred and seventy-five days in the year were thus occupied—bathing was the popular amusement. In the great central hall which served as a tepidarium, with its marble walls and pillars, its statues, and its mosaic floor, the whole day could be pleasantly spent, listening to musicians and poets reciting their verses, watching the gallants and their ladies, or playing at dice and draughts with one's friends. When this palled, a plunge and swim in the lake outside, followed by a quiet game of ball, made an agreeable diversion, and then would come a visit to the hot room and a massage. Vendors of fruit and

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cooling drink were continually at hand passing to and fro amid the gay throng ; and so the hours quickly passed.

Agrippa's Palace was the first, but other *Thermae* were soon built ; and as happens with our London hotels and New York sky-scrapers, each new one was larger and more magnificent than its predecessor. Nero surpassed Agrippa, Vespasian surpassed Nero, Trajan surpassed Vespasian ; and at the beginning of the third century of our era there were nine of these Bath Palaces and nine hundred of the small private bathing establishments. In A.D. 215 Caracalla, the most infamous of all the tyrants who disgraced the imperial purple, determined to outvie all that had been done before, and built the huge structure whose ruins by the Appian Way are one of the first things that visitors see on their arrival at Rome. His bath was a mile in circumference, and was open at certain hours for the free use of all citizens—and by his edict the whole world had been given Roman citizenship—and it could hold sixteen hundred bathers at one time. Its decorations were of the unrestrained magnificence that we see in our newest picture palaces, and even the pipes and taps were of solid silver and bronze. The city was ransacked for statues to adorn its porticoes, and in it stood the Farnese Bull, the Venus of the Capitol, the Flora (now at Naples), and the Dionysus of the British Museum.

Caracalla doubtless thought that his *Thermae* would never be equalled ; and yet a century later it was not equalled but surpassed, for Diocletian's *Thermae*

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offered double the accommodation that Caracalla had provided, and covered an even greater space of ground. The baths of Diocletian, last of the great Roman builders, could take three thousand people, as many as have to-day taken up their permanent homes within the walls of the palace which the Dalmatian Emperor built for himself at Spalato. Its central hall, which served as a tepidarium, was two hundred and ten feet long, eighty feet wide ; the outdoor swimming bath, surrounded by marble colonnades, which took the place here of an indoor frigidarium, surpassed in size the largest of our seaside Lidos. Its ruins now are not impressive, but from its masonry in medieval and modern times there have been constructed two churches, a monastery, a large museum, and innumerable warehouses and stables.

With Diocletian ended the system of lavish expenditure in Rome on public entertainment which Agrippa began and Augustus and his successors continued. Twenty-five years after Diocletian's death in A.D. 304, Constantine made his new city the capital of the world, and Constantinople took the place of Rome. But in the history of the early empire the year 33 B.C. is of almost equal importance with 31, the year of Actium ; for it was in the course of Agrippa's aedileship that the social policy of the new government, a policy followed and exaggerated by the later emperors, took a definite shape. *Panem et Circenses*, free food for all who needed it—and Augustus eventually gave the dole to 200,000 citizens—and free games for all alike : this was the compensation paid to the Roman people

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for the loss of their political rights. As Juvenal says :¹

‘Truth to tell,
Since now no longer she has votes to sell
Rome has grown careless. Those who once bestowed
Rule, rank, dominion, now in humbler mood
Restrict their high ambitions, and instead
Of power seek two things only—Games and Bread.’

The purpose of the policy was to tame the mob by kindness, and at first it was successful. The final results were not so good. Kindness proved ruinously expensive, and the mob became so tame that it was unable to defend itself against the outer barbarians. But that came later, and at first it must have seemed to the citizens of Rome that all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

¹ Juvenal, *Satires*, I, 77.

CHAPTER V

ACTIUM

IN this chapter Antony is the hero, a tragic hero in his strength and weakness, who throws away the world for a woman's sake. Octavian stands by and watches while the foreign queen brings about his rival's ruin. As for Agrippa, when the actual fighting begins his fleet commands the sea, and at Actium he deals the final stroke.

But although Antony is the protagonist in the drama, as a hero he is almost as unsatisfactory as Virgil's Aeneas, who refused to throw away the world for a woman's sake. The truth is that he is as definitely overshadowed by Cleopatra as Aeneas is by Dido ; and to most males the sight of a man yielding completely to a woman's influence is a painful spectacle, even though the woman may be the man's moral and intellectual superior. When Antony met Cleopatra in 40 B.C. he was still married to Fulvia, the boldest woman of her time, and the Queen of Egypt was for him then merely an instrument of pleasure. After Fulvia's death he married Octavia, the best woman of her time, and with her lived three years of what should have been happy wedded life. But in 37 he tired of virtue : Cleopatra was still in his blood, and remembering her embraces he summoned her to meet him at Antioch. This time he fell



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THE COAST NEAR ACTHIM

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deeply in love, and she who never loved any man knew she had him in her power. She refused to yield unless he married her ; and so the cleverest woman of her time became his third wife.

Octavia, of course, was still alive and was not divorced, for it was not until the summer of 32 that Antony sent his messengers with the formal summons, *res tuas habe*, 'take your possessions—and go' ; and for five years he had two wives. As a Roman citizen he could not marry a foreign woman, and Roman law only recognized his marriage with Octavia. But in the East Roman law did not hold. Octavian might refuse to acknowledge that this second union was valid, but to the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Egyptians Cleopatra was Antony's legitimate wife. Alexander himself had taken two wives, Roxana and Stateira, and it seemed quite natural that Antony should do the same.

Both Antony and Octavian liked to fancy themselves a second Alexander, but in all essentials Cleopatra was far nearer than they were to the great Macedonian, and she alone of all his successors had something of his godlike spirit. He and she believed that they were of different origin from their fellow-men, and in the Egyptian pantheon they found the true source of their being. Alexander was the son of the god Ammon, Cleopatra the daughter of the god Ra. They were alike also in being free from the weakness of the flesh, and it was Cleopatra's misfortune that she had to use men as her instruments and take advantage of their passions. When the Romans abused her as an Egyptian

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harlot they were as ludicrously wrong as Tennyson was :

‘I turning saw, throned on a flowery rise,
One sitting on a crimson scarf unroll’d,
A queen, with swarthy cheeks and bold black eyes,
Brow-bound with burning gold.’¹

Cleopatra had no Egyptian blood in her veins, she was half-Macedonian half-Greek by birth, and probably of fair complexion ; and although she consented to be the mistress first of Julius Caesar and then of Antony, she regarded them both only as agents in the furtherance of her plans. She was not deliriously beautiful, but she possessed something that is more effective than beauty, a seduction and a charm which made and kept men her slaves. She could suit herself to every mood, a thing of infinite variety, and she had knowledge of everything in which her lovers were interested. She could discuss literature and politics with Caesar, she could amuse Antony with plays and banquets ; and she could equally well arrange with either a plan of campaign.

Her lovers possibly never realized the full extent of her designs. Always in her mind there was one fixed purpose, to establish such an empire over East and West as Alexander had conceived, and with the help of Romans to overthrow the supremacy of Rome. Shakespeare’s Antony has a glimpse of the truth which perhaps was denied to the real man. ‘She’s cunning past men’s thought,’ he says ; and the modern

¹ Tennyson, ‘Dream of Fair Women.’

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scholar who has best understood her repeats the same judgment :¹ 'The key-note of her character was not sex at all, but ambition—an ambition surpassing that of any other princess of her ambitious Macedonian race ; and the essence of her nature was the combination of the charm of a woman with the brain of a man, both remorselessly bent to the pursuit of that one object, power.'

Her hopes of Caesar had been cruelly disappointed by his death ; she determined that with Antony there should be no failure. He had taken the eastern Mediterranean as his sphere of government, and as a marriage gift she required and obtained from him all the countries over which the first of the Ptolemies ruled. He gave her Central Syria, the sea-coast of Palestine and Phoenicia, Cilicia Tracheia, the balsam gardens of Jericho, and the district east of the Dead Sea from which bitumen was obtained. The balsam and bitumen monopolies she leased to Herod and Malchus, and from them obtained a yearly revenue of £100,000. The twins she had borne to Antony in 40 B.C. were brought to Antioch, acknowledged by him as his children, and renamed as Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, little Sun and Moon. As for their parents, they too were now divine, Dionysus and Aphrodite for their Greek subjects, Osiris and Isis for the Egyptians.

But before Cleopatra could proceed with her own plans of conquest she had to allow Antony to undertake his Parthian expedition, a project of which she did not approve and for which she refused to supply any money

¹ W. W. Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 35.

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from her treasury. The Romans had indeed been signally unfortunate in their search for gold in Parthia. One expedition had brought death to Crassus, a second even before it started to Caesar, and this, the third, finally involved Antony in very serious loss without any corresponding gain. The winter of 37-36, which Agrippa spent in training the fleet which eventually defeated Antony at Actium, was spent by Antony himself at Antioch in preparing for his campaign. First he reorganized the client kingdoms of Asia Minor, where he set up Amyntas in Galatia, Polemo in Pontus, and Archelaus in Cappadocia. These new rulers of his creation were charged to guard his rear, and in the spring of 36 he set out from Antioch to join the army which by this time had mustered at Zeugma on the river Euphrates. Cleopatra went with him as far as that place, and then returned to Egypt to bear him a second son, whom she named Ptolemy Philadelphus in memory of the second monarch of the Lagid dynasty who in the third century B.C. brought Egypt to her highest point of prosperity.

Antony had secured his base in Asia Minor, but he made a fatal mistake in supposing that Artavasdes, King of Armenia, was a trustworthy ally. Armenia had been nominally reduced by Antony's legate Canidius in 37, and Artavasdes with sixteen thousand cavalry joined him in his march inland, but in reality the Armenian was only waiting for the first opportunity to go over to the Parthian king, Phraates. At Carana (Erzeroom), on the Araxes, Antony reviewed his army, sixteen legions, about sixty thousand strong, ten thousand Gallic and

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Spanish horsemen, thirty thousand auxiliaries, and a strong siege train. From Carana he marched eastwards, but soon had to leave his baggage and siege engines behind under the guard of Artavasdes and two legions. As soon as he was well away the Parthians attacked ; Artavasdes rode off home, and the two legions were cut to pieces by the Parthian mounted archers. In spite of this reverse an attempt was made in August to take the Parthian fortress of Phraaspa by assault ; but the attempt failed, and in October Antony was compelled to retreat.

Winter was now coming on and for nearly a month the legions struggled through the mountainous country on their way back to Armenia, while the Parthians hung on their flank, cutting off stragglers and making continual attacks. In that month Antony lost nearly a third of his best troops, and when at last he reached the sea-coast his men were almost at the end of their resources. Fortunately he had been able to send a messenger from Armenia to Cleopatra asking for help, and after some days of anxious waiting an Egyptian fleet appeared bringing stores of clothing and provisions. With their help the army retired safely into winter quarters ; but neither the men nor their commander were ever quite the same again. The retreat from Phraaspa was for Antony what the retreat from Moscow was for Napoleon, and after this his star is on the wane.

During the year 35, when Octavian and Agrippa were fighting successfully in Pannonia, Antony did little. He dispatched a message to the senate at Rome

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announcing the defeat of the Parthians, but Octavian already knew the truth, and instead of sending him the four legions he had promised in 37, he only returned the seventy ships that remained of the fleet which Antony had supplied before the battle of Naulochus. Octavia was more generous, and when she heard of what had really happened in Parthia she persuaded her brother to give her stores, provisions, and two thousand picked men, and with them set out for the East. At Athens, however, she received a message from Antony, bidding her to send on the men and stores to him and herself return to Rome. There was nothing for her to do but obey, and going back she devoted herself once more to the care of his four children, his two sons by Fulvia and the two daughters whom she had borne. But after this she was unable to serve any longer as a reconciler between her husband and her brother, for each of them now has a just and serious grievance. Antony considered that Octavian had played him false in the matter of the four legions; for Octavian, Antony's behaviour to his sister was an insult that could not be forgiven.

Accordingly in 34 Antony and Cleopatra began their preparations for the struggle which they, like Octavian, saw to be inevitable. Their first task was to make up for the loss of trained soldiers caused by the Parthian campaign; for Antony now had only twenty-five legions under his command, while in the West, and possibly available for Octavian's purposes, there were forty-five. By enlisting Italian settlers in the East, together with Greeks and Asiatics, Antony raised his

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total of legions to thirty, the best of which were the six veteran legions which he brought from Macedonia, filling their place with recruits. Even so his land forces were plainly inferior to Octavian's, and it seems that from this time onwards he placed his chief hopes in his strength at sea. As early as 41 he had constructed a fleet, using the money which he collected from the cities of Asia after Philippi to build 200 ships of war, some of which he afterwards lent to Octavian. He now started shipbuilding again on an even larger scale, and eventually, as we shall see, was able to put 500 vessels into the line of battle. This reorganization of his forces took several months, and the summer was spent in an invasion of Armenia to punish Artavasdes for his treachery. The king was taken prisoner and Armenia became for a very short time a Roman province—at the end of two years the people rose and all the Romans then in the country were massacred—and in the autumn Antony returned to Egypt with considerable booty and military prestige somewhat restored.

In Alexandria he celebrated his triumph over Armenia, a Roman triumph in a foreign city, and Cleopatra on a golden throne received the homage of the captives. The triumph was followed by the strange performance known in history as the Donations of Alexandria. Before a great gathering in the Alexandrian gymnasium Antony and Cleopatra appeared sitting on thrones side by side, while Caesarion and their three young children sat on thrones below them, Caesarion dressed as a Roman, Alexander as a Persian, and Ptolemy

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Philadelphus as a Macedonian. Antony first declared to the assembly that Cleopatra had been Caesar's lawful wife, and that Caesarion was his legitimate son and therefore his heir. He then announced their new titles and the kingdoms which were to be theirs. Cleopatra was 'Queen of Kings,' Caesarion was 'King of Kings.' To Alexander was assigned Armenia and all the country east of the Euphrates; Ptolemy Philadelphus received Syria, Cilicia, and the overlordship of the client kings in Asia Minor up to the Hellespont; to little Selene, Libya and Cyrenaica were given. For himself, Antony obviously reserved the highest position of all, which on this occasion he did not name. He was to be supreme ruler of the whole Mediterranean world east and west, and Cleopatra was to share in his power.

The news of these happenings in Alexandria reached Rome in the early spring of 33, and for the rest of the year, while Agrippa was winning over the Roman populace with his shows, Octavian and Maecenas were conducting vigorous propaganda to prove that Antony was the helpless tool of a foreign sorceress and was unworthy of the name of Roman. Octavian himself wrote to Antony reproaching him with his conduct to Octavia and his connection with Cleopatra, to which Antony replied in a very frank letter preserved for us by Suetonius: ¹

Quid te mutavit? Quod reginam in eo? uxor mea est. Nunc coepi an abhinc annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? Ita valeas, uti tu, hanc epistulam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, Ch. 69.

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Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert ubi et in qua arrigas?

‘What has changed you? Is it because I copulate with the Queen? She is my wife. Have I just begun, have not I been doing it for nine years? Do you lie only with Drusilla. Good luck to you if when you read this letter you have not had Tertulla or Terentilla or Rufilla or Salvia Titisenia or all of them together. Does it matter where or with whom you take your pleasure?’

When Antony says Drusilla he means Livia, who was not unaware of her husband’s weakness for other women. When he says Terentilla he means Terentia, wife of Maecenas, who was also painfully conscious of his wife’s infidelities. But Antony did not always jest, and in more serious vein he demanded that he should receive half the recruits levied in Italy and allotments of land for his veterans; but in answer to this Octavian coldly suggested that he should find them allotments in the country which he had conquered in Parthia. Thereupon Antony wrote directly to the senate, on which he had still many supporters, and expressed his willingness to lay down his powers as Triumvir if Octavian would do the same.

In 32 the two consuls, Sosius and Domitius Ahenobarbus, were both warm partisans of Antony, and at the first meeting of the senate, when Octavian was absent, Sosius made a long speech in favour of Antony and against Octavian. The latter at the next senate defended himself vigorously and offered to prove his case by written documents which he undertook to produce on a fixed date. He was attended by a strong

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bodyguard of soldiers, whose swords perhaps were even more effectual than his words. Before the fixed day arrived the two consuls and four hundred senators thought it wiser to leave Rome and join Antony at Ephesus. The situation now was curiously like that in which Pompey and the senatorial party had placed themselves seventeen years before. They too had left Italy and established themselves on foreign soil ; they too had relied on the strength of the East against the West ; they too had forgotten where the real centre of power lay and surrendered the key position of Rome without a struggle.

And as had happened in Pompey's camp in Thessaly, so now at Ephesus differences of opinion soon appeared among the senators. Cleopatra, with her Egyptian ministers, was very much in evidence, and to many she was a constant source of offence. They would have had her sent back at once to Egypt ; but there were others, better acquainted with the real facts, who refused to allow this. The money, as they knew, was hers, and she had supplied their war-chest with five million sterling from her treasury. Antony was indeed advised to kill her and seize Egypt ; but Antony was in love, and Antony refused. This was one source of disagreement and there were many others. Some of the senators were eager to fight, but wished to choose their own commands and superintend the conduct of the campaign. Others, like Cicero in the past, were more ready to criticize than to give real assistance. And lastly there was a large number of men—'*desultores*,' as they were called from the jockeys

in the circus who rode two steeds at once—who were beginning to think that they had backed the wrong horse and were getting ready once again to change sides.

Octavian's difficulty was of another kind. His war-chest was far less well supplied than Antony's, and his expenditure in 33 had been on a lavish scale. Money was absolutely necessary, and so he convened those senators who remained in Rome and induced them to pass a decree imposing a war tax of five shillings in the pound on the yearly income of all citizens, and a capital levy of one-eighth of their property on all freedmen. Messengers were sent up and down Italy calling upon the people to pay up cheerfully and rally to their defender against the foreign queen. But in spite of this good advice there was a considerable amount of rioting, and if Antony had appeared in Italy at this time he would have found many adherents. Instead of doing this he did something that roused popular feeling strongly against him, for he chose this moment to divorce Octavia, sending his agents to Rome to expel her and the children from his house. Even his warmest partisans were disgusted, for it seemed that the cruel act was due to Cleopatra, and some of the more cautious senators at Ephesus, including the notorious trimmer Plancus, took the opportunity to go back to Rome and Octavian.

On their arrival they revealed the fact that Antony had made a will which was deposited with the Vestal Virgins in Rome, and they further informed Octavian that they knew its contents, and that if it could be obtained and published it would give clear proof of

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Antony's dependence on Cleopatra. To use force against the Vestals was sacrilege, an act of impiety as heinous as violation of sanctuary ; but the temptation was too strong for Octavian. The Vestals were compelled to surrender the document, a meeting of the senate was called, and there it was read aloud. Its general purport was in accordance with the Donations ; Caesaron was recognized as Caesar's son, large legacies were left to Cleopatra's children, and directions were given that Antony's body should be buried in Alexandria by the side of Cleopatra. The interpretation put upon this last clause was that Antony intended to make Alexandria the capital in place of Rome, and popular indignation against him was fanned to fever heat. He was deprived of his triumviral powers, and the consulship for 31, which he had designed to hold, was taken from him and given to his rival. Every town in Italy and the western provinces took a solemn oath of allegiance to Octavian, and in October, as fetial priest of the Roman people, he made formal declaration of war in the temple of Bellona—against Cleopatra.

Diplomacy and propaganda skilfully used had done their work, and Octavian in the coming contest started with a great advantage in morale over his opponent. Even so, his troops were not too reliable, for all the armies after many years of civil strife were weary of war, and ready on small provocation either to cease fighting or go over to the commander who could offer higher pay and seemed to have the better chance of victory. Antony, however, was in even worse case ;

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his army was composed of various and conflicting elements—Roman, Asiatic, Egyptian; and the presence of Cleopatra in camp was a fatal handicap. Moreover, he himself had no experience of naval operations, on which the whole campaign was to turn, and at sea Agrippa was in command against him. A war is not always won by battles, and in this campaign victory was eventually secured by a skilful use of sea power which cut off the enemy supplies and established a virtual blockade. Actium was only a decisive battle in the sense that after it there was no more fighting; in the actual conflict there was little more bloodshed than there was in the so-called battle of Aegospotami which brought the Peloponnesian War to a close. In both cases the defeated side were beaten before the engagement began.

In the spring of 32 B.C. Antony left Ephesus and transferred his headquarters to Samos. The guild of Athenian actors was summoned by Cleopatra to provide amusement, and the summer passed agreeably on that pleasant island, and later at Athens, in a succession of stage performances and elaborate banquets, while the army was gradually being carried across from Asia into Greece. In September all was ready, and Antony and Cleopatra with their sea and land forces moved westwards to the Ionian coast. Their fleet of 500 galleys was the largest that the ancient world had seen, and it was remarkable not only for its numbers, but for the size and tonnage of the ships. In some vessels there were nine men pulling at each of the heavy sweeps, the total number of rowers being well over a

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hundred thousand, and as a protection against ramming all the larger galleys had belts of heavy timber bound with iron. There were eight squadrons in all, each of sixty war-ships, Cleopatra commanding her own squadron from her flagship, the *Antonia*, and a certain number of swift galleys attached to each squadron. But unfortunately for his chance of success against a commander like Agrippa, though Antony had the ships he had neither the naval experience to use their numbers to advantage nor yet a sufficient supply of officers and trained oarsmen. He had, in fact, the old Roman contempt for seamanship, and when this shortage was pointed out to him he carelessly replied : 'What do sailors matter ? As long as there are oars on board and men in Greece, we shall not lack rowers.'

His land army consisted of nineteen legions, few of them at full strength, together with some light armed auxiliaries from Asia who brought his total strength in infantry to about seventy thousand men. Of cavalry he had about twelve thousand, supplied chiefly by the client kings whom he had appointed in Asia Minor—Amyntas of Galatia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Deiotarus of Paphlagonia. A chain of stations on land and sea was established from Corcyra in the north to Messenia in southern Peloponnese, and along these the army and navy were strung out. Headquarters were at Patrae, but the main body of the land forces was encamped on the fortified promontory of Actium, at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf, where there was a temple of Apollo. From a tactical point of view the position was badly chosen, for it left the passage from

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Italy to the two ports of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium open to Octavian, and it also surrendered to him access to the great Egnatian Road, which was the highway to Macedonia and the East. On the other hand, if all these posts were safely held, they secured the sea route to Egypt; and this apparently was for Antony the chief consideration.

During the winter of 32 B.C. Antony made little use either of his fleet or of his army, and in the early spring of 31 he allowed Octavian to cross over into Greece with an army of eighty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. We know that discord and disaffection were rife in his camp, and it is possible that, like Pompey before him, he was distracted by a multitude of counsellors. But whatever was the reason for his inaction, the fact remains that he lost the initiative of attack, and Octavian marching quickly southwards occupied a position on the promontory at the northern entrance to the Gulf opposite to Antony's camp at Actium. The two armies were now face to face, and a pitched battle might have been expected; but Octavian distrusted himself and Antony distrusted his men, and the weeks passed with nothing more than desultory skirmishing.

But while Antony and Octavian were marking time, Agrippa was taking vigorous and decisive action. He saw that a land battle was unlikely and that the issue of the campaign depended upon the command of the sea, and he prepared to attack the stations which Antony had established along the coast of Greece. He began at the extreme south of the chain, where

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Bogud, the Mauretanian prince who had fought for Caesar at Munda, was holding a fortified post at Methone on the western side of the three promontories into which the Peloponnese divides. The corn ships from Alexandria, which were bringing Antony his supplies, followed the usual trade route close to the island of Carpathus and kept north-west until they sighted the middle promontory, Cape Taenarum, the modern Matapan. The post at Methone was designed to guard them on their passage northward up the Ionian Sea, and when Agrippa succeeded in capturing the fort, killing Bogud, and destroying his squadron of war-ships he dealt Antony a very serious blow.

Methone now instead of being a safeguard became a menace, for Agrippa stationed there a number of swift Liburnian galleys, such as the pirates had used, supported by war-ships, and instructed them to keep watch for the corn ships from Egypt and cut them off. He then repeated the operation at the northern end and captured Antony's squadron at Leucas, an island just to the south of Actium, which commanded the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf. He had already a strong force at Comarus on the northern side of the gulf, and with Leucas and Comarus in his hands there was little chance for any supply ships to enter, even if they managed to escape his watchers at Methone. He next sailed south again and captured Patrae at the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, together with its garrison and ships. Finally, he occupied Corinth itself and so prevented any supplies passing to Antony from the Peloponnese.

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As the result of these operations Antony was forced to depend for his supplies on North Greece, a district which had already suffered terribly at the hands of Roman generals in the two campaigns which ended at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. and Philippi in 42. What was once a flourishing country had been bled white by their exactions, and although the unfortunate inhabitants were now compelled again to surrender all their stores and carry them on their backs to Actium over the mountains of Aetolia, it was almost impossible for them to provide sufficient food for a large army. Soon hunger and sickness intensified the existing despondency, and Antony decided at last that he would have to risk an attack. At his first attempt Deiotarus, with his Paphlagonian horsemen, in the course of the engagement went over to Octavian; at the second, where Antony himself took charge, Amyntas with his Galatians followed his neighbour king's example.¹ This last act of treachery convinced Antony that the situation was becoming desperate, and when two of his chief Roman supporters, Domitius and Dellius, also left him for Octavian he called a council of war.

Cleopatra was present and insisted that they should stake everything on a sea battle, and probably she added that they should have fought that battle long before. Her criticism was certainly just, but even at this crisis the Roman legionaries were very unwilling to trust

¹ To this desertion Horace refers in *Epode IX*, 17 :

Ad hoc frementes verterunt bis mille equos

Galli, canentes Caesarem.

'Thereat the Gauls indignant "Caesar" cried, and wheeled,
Two thousand horsemen, from the battle-field.'

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themselves to the sea. 'Why put your hopes in miserable logs of timber?' a veteran centurion cried to Antony. 'Let Egyptians and Phoenicians fight at sea, but give us the land on which we are wont either to conquer or to die.' Canidius, Antony's second in command, was as anxious as the men to march into Macedonia and challenge Octavian to a battle there. But Cleopatra as usual had her way, and on September 2nd, 31, when all preparations had been made, the fleet moved out. We have an account of the battle written some years later by Rome's greatest poet, and before we descend to bare facts we will give Virgil's description :

'Young Caesar in the stern in armour bright
Here leads the Romans and their gods to fight;
His beamy temples shoot their flames afar
And o'er his head is hung the Julian star.
Agrippa seconds him with prosperous gales
And with propitious gods his foes assails;
A naval crown that binds his manly brows
The happy fortune of the fight foreshows.
Ranged on the line opposed, Antonius brings
Barbarian aids and troops of Eastern kings,
The Arabians near, and Bactrians from afar,
Of tongues discordant and a mingled war.
And rich in gaudy robes amidst the stife
His ill fate follows him—the Egyptian wife.
Moving they fight: with oars and forky prows
The froth is gathered and the water glows.
It seems as if the Cyclades again
Were rooted up and jostled in the main,
Or floating mountains floating mountains meet;
Such is the fierce encounter of the fleet.
Fireballs are thrown, and pointed javelins fly,

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The fields of Neptune take a purple dye.
The Queen herself amidst the loud alarms
With cymbals tossed her fainting soldiers warms.
Fool as she was, who had not yet divined
Her cruel fate, nor saw the snakes behind.
Her country gods, the monsters of the sky
Great Neptune, Pallas, and love's Queen defy,
The dog Anubis barks, but barks in vain
Nor longer dares oppose the ethereal train . . .
This seen Apollo from his Actian height
Pours down his arrows, at whose wingèd flight
The trembling Indians and Egyptians yield,
And soft Sabaeans quit the watery field.
The fatal mistress hoists her silken sails,
And shrinking from the fight invokes the gales.
Aghast she looks, and heaves her breast for breath,
Panting and pale with fear of future death.' ¹

It is interesting to notice how Virgil, like a good Roman and a good poet, concentrates attention on the tragic figure of the Egyptian queen, and how he represents the contest as one not between two Romans, Octavian and Antony, but between Rome and the barbarian forces of the Eastern world. Of the actual course of the fighting he tells us little, but the facts are these.² The battle took place on September 2nd, 31 B.C., outside the Bay of Actium, and the forces engaged on either side were as follows: Antony had six squadrons of sixty ships each under his orders, and a seventh squadron of Egyptian galleys manned by mercenaries under Cleopatra's command. Half of his fighting men, some forty thousand legionaries, were

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 678-709 (Dryden's translation).

² For a full account of the battle and criticism of the ancient authority, see W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. XXI, p. 173.

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on board besides the oarsmen and navigating officers. Against him Agrippa, in sole command of the Roman fleet, had about the same number of ships and men. Octavian himself was not in the fighting line, but was on a fast Liburnian galley on the right wing nearest to the land.

Antony's plans for the battle seem to have been these. On this coast the morning wind is usually west but at midday it shifts some points to the north. Antony therefore intended to get round Agrippa's left wing and use the change of wind to drive him southwards away from his camp, which he could then either besiege or take by storm. In pursuance of this idea he had sails put aboard so that he could continue the pursuit when the oarsmen wearied. In case of failure, however, he had an alternative plan in reserve. The Egyptian treasure was placed in Cleopatra's galleys, and if his scheme of outflanking Agrippa miscarried he intended to sail southwards and make his way with his fleet to Egypt, while Canidius was to bring the other half of the land army after him by way of Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Unfortunately for him his own men interpreted the order to take the sails on board as a proof that he intended not to fight but to sail away immediately ; and in this they were determined not to follow him.

On the morning of September 2nd Antony's fleet rowed out from the shelter of the bay into the open sea where Agrippa was waiting for their approach. Antony with his three best squadrons was on the right wing facing Agrippa on the left ; Antony being at the

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extreme end of his line with the fastest galleys to carry out the turning movement which he contemplated. His fourth squadron was in the centre with Cleopatra's ships immediately behind ready to move up into the battle line when necessary ; the other two squadrons were on the left with orders to wait until the battle developed. The two fleets got into position, and as soon as the wind shifted to the north both Antony and Agrippa gave the order to their rowers to lay to and raced at full speed westwards, the two squadrons each endeavouring to turn the other's flank. The result was that they met on Antony's extreme right, and it was here that the only actual fighting took place. Agrippa had the advantage of the wind behind him,¹ and bringing his grappling engines into play he captured about a dozen of the enemy ships ; Antony's own flagship being one of his victims, although Antony himself was able to escape to another vessel. Meanwhile, however, the three squadrons which composed Antony's centre and left, and had never been engaged, were seen to be slowly retiring towards the harbour, leaving Cleopatra's squadron alone and unsupported in the centre of the line. Thereupon the two inner squadrons of Antony's right wing, unable to follow their comrades because of Cleopatra's ships, raised their oars in sign of surrender. Cleopatra at once hoisted sail and with her whole squadron stood southwards away from the battle ; and there was nothing left for Antony but to rally the forty ships of his own squadron which remained, and follow after her. He reached her flagship and went

¹ Cf. Virgil : '*ventis et dis Agrippa secundis.*'

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on board, but neither saw nor was seen by Cleopatra. Sitting in the stern, as Plutarch tells us, with his head in his hands, he looked back over the water at the men who had deserted him and whom he was now deserting ; and so for many hours he remained motionless. Agrippa, well satisfied with the result of the battle, made no attempt at pursuit.

The battle was won, and next morning Octavian took possession of the five squadrons of ships which had retired from the fight. Most of them he burned, using their brazen beaks to adorn the temple of his deified father in Rome : the rest Agrippa used for the police fleet which he established at Forum Juliense. The soldiers who had been on board took refuge in their fortified camp, and for seven days waited for Antony to return, hoping that he would lead them into Macedonia and there try his fortune in one last battle. But they waited in vain : Antony was a broken man ; and on the eighth day they accepted Octavian's terms and surrendered, while Canidius made his escape to Egypt.

But there were still many difficulties for Octavian to face, among them the question of finding money to satisfy the soldiers. There was little plunder to be got in Antony's camp, and the soldiers of both armies had to be disbanded, and Octavian's men rewarded. The situation in Italy, where Maecenas had been left in charge, was distinctly threatening ; and finally Agrippa was sent to supersede Maecenas, and if possible to find allotments of land for the veterans. But even Agrippa was unable to satisfy the men, and at his urgent summons Octavian, in January 30, returned to Italy to

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stay the growing discontent. He had nothing to offer his men but promises, but he undertook to give them full satisfaction when he had secured the treasure of the Ptolemies ; and they agreed to wait until he returned from Egypt.

Meanwhile Cleopatra had safely reached Alexandria, where she was joined by Antony after he found that the legions he had left in Cyrene had gone over to Octavian's legate, Cornelius Gallus. For a time he seemed incapable of action, but when, in the summer of 30 B.C., Octavian marched through Syria and appeared before the city he went out with forty ships to defend the port. Again the whole squadron, at the sight of the enemy fleet, deserted him and he returned to land alone. On July 31st Octavian's cavalry closed in upon the suburbs, and Antony once more went out, and that night beat them back. On the next day his men refused to fight, and when he returned to the royal palace he was told that Cleopatra was dead. At that he stabbed himself ; but the wound was not at once mortal, and while he lay bleeding he heard that the news was false and that Cleopatra was still alive. He begged to be carried to the mausoleum tower where the queen with her two handmaids, Iras and Charmion, had taken refuge : the three women with difficulty drew his body in through an upper window, and he died in Cleopatra's arms.

There seemed little hope left for the queen ; but she made one more effort to save something from the wreck of her fortunes for her children. She sent her crown and sceptre to Octavian, asking him to give the

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throne of Egypt to one of her sons and allow him to be a client king, like Herod, dependent on Rome. In the event of his refusal she let it be known that she intended to set fire to the mausoleum, where she had collected all the royal treasure, and perish with it in the flames. Octavian realized the danger, and sent a trusty officer named Proculeius to take her alive. The entrance to the mausoleum was securely barred, but on the ground-level there was a grating; and while Gallus engaged her there in talk, Proculeius climbed through the upper window and snatched from her the knife with which she tried to kill herself.

She was taken to the palace and put under guard; and there she had her one and only interview with Octavian. What passed between them we do not know, but it was certainly with Octavian's permission that she made her last libation at Antony's tomb, and it was probably with his connivance that one of her people arranged for an asp to be brought into the palace concealed in a basket of figs. According to Egyptian belief the asp, symbol of the sun-god Ra upon the royal crown, would render her immortal if it struck, and putting on her royal robes she laid the snake to her breast. When the Romans came in they found her dying with her two women in their death agony by her side. 'Is this well done, Charmion?' one of the soldiers cried. 'Yes,' said she, 'very well.'

So Cleopatra died. The Romans feared and hated her, but with their fear and hate was mingled an admiration which finds reluctant expression in the last stanzas of the ode that Horace wrote for Octavian's triumph.

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' Drink, drink, my lads, and strike the floor
With careless feet; pile the board high
With lavish feasting ; 'tis the hour
For mirth and revelry.

Till now we might not quaff the bowl.
The queen was plotting down beneath
Mad ruin for the Capitol
And for our Empire death.

Surrounded by her eunuch crew
She yielded to fair fortune's spell,
And fancied that her dreams were true.
But ah, her mad hopes fell

When scarce one ship escaped the flame.
She tried with wine her fears to drown,
But in pursuit our leader came,
And soon she had to own

A real alarm. As through the air
A hawk drives doves, as on the plain
A huntsman tracks the timid hare,
So Caesar sped to chain

The fateful monster. But she thought
Herself a nobler fate to meet;
She did not fear the knife nor sought
Some distant safe retreat.

Her kingdom fell, but undismayed
She dared upon its fall to look;
Upon her breast the asp she laid
And its black venom took.

The prouder for her will to die,
She would not to our triumph lend
The spice of captive royalty,
Undaunted to the end.¹

¹ Horace, *Odes*, I, xxxvii.

CHAPTER VI

THE MASTER BUILDER

THE Romans were a nation of builders; the hammer and the chisel were as familiar to them as the javelin and the sword; and it was in brick and stone that their native genius found its clearest expression. When Virgil, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, makes Anchises bid his Roman descendants to leave sculpture, oratory, and astronomy to other nations and to concentrate on their imperial mission as peace-makers—‘to spare the conquered and to crush the proud’—he might well have added, ‘and fill the world with your roads and bridges, your arches, aqueducts, and amphitheatres.’ It is not unfitting, therefore, that three of the most Roman of all Roman worthies—Agrippa, Vespasian, and Trajan—have left us as their memorials the three best known of ancient Roman buildings: the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the Arch of Triumph. All of them were great men, equally great in war, administration, and public works; but if we have to estimate them purely as builders Agrippa takes the first place.

Why the Romans so far surpassed the Greeks as builders is partly due to their more practical temperament, and partly to the advantage they had over them in building materials. The marble from Paros and

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Pentelicus which the Greeks used for their temples was too expensive for private buildings, stone was difficult to work and difficult to transport over hilly country, and timber was scarce and of poor quality, so that for ordinary purposes they fell back on sun-dried brick.

In Italy with its wide forests timber was plentiful, and under the Republic was the normal material for private houses, and often even for large structures such as bridges and public halls. The Romans too were helped in the early period of their history by having the Etruscans as their teachers, and from them they learned how to make use of the arch, the vault, and the dome, devices known to Greek architects but by them seldom employed. In addition to timber the Romans had ready to their hands in Latium and Campania a soft volcanic stone, tufa, easily cut into square blocks, as well as the hard limestone travertine, which was quarried near Tibur and brought down the river. But towards the end of the third century their builders made a great discovery. It was found that the volcanic earth in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, pozzolana, as it is now called, when mixed with lime formed a cement which lasted practically for ever, even under water ; and henceforth this concrete became for the Roman builder what the steel frame is for us to-day. He faced it with bricks or stone, he covered it with rough cast or plaster, he even veneered it in public buildings with thin slabs of coloured marble. But behind brick, plaster, and marble there was a solid core of concrete, just as with us there is a solid structure of steel.

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After Actium, as after Naulochus, Agrippa received from Octavian a full and generous reward for his services. The naval crown of honour won at Naulochus, which he had worn during the battle against Antony, was supplemented by a blue banner which was carried before him at all public festivals. Antony's house on the Palatine was handed over to him and Messala for their joint use, and he was given a large estate in Egypt. He was now a very wealthy man, but he used his riches, as enlightened millionaires are doing with us, not for his own selfish enjoyment but for the public good. In Republican times men like Sulla, Lucullus, and Cicero, when they acquired wealth, squandered it in building themselves expensive country houses all over Italy and in wanton luxury of every kind. Agrippa took a wiser and nobler course, and preferred to construct for the people's use the buildings which we shall now describe.

These buildings were all in the Campus Martius, the Hyde Park of Rome, an open space lying in the bend of the Tiber between the Aelian and the Aurelian Bridges. When the Greek geographer Strabo visited Rome some years after Agrippa's death, it was the Campus Martius and Agrippa's work there that called forth his liveliest admiration. The Campus itself, covered with grass throughout the year and large enough both for chariot races and for the multitude of people who exercised themselves by wrestling, playing ball, and rolling hoops, was wonderful enough, and presented to his eyes the appearance of a scene on the stage from which it was hard to tear oneself away. But

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that part of the Campus where Agrippa's buildings stood, with its colonnades, sacred precincts, and costly temples, was even more marvellous to the Greek, and, as he says, gave him the impression that the rest of Rome was a mere accessory.¹

The *Monumenta Agrippae* extended across the broad space of level ground from the foot of the Pincian and Quirinal hills to the banks of the Tiber near the modern Ponte Sisto, a bridge which in its first form was probably built by Agrippa, for an inscription of the first century A.D. proves that the *Pons Agrippae* there mentioned stood just in this locality, and was the original structure which in the third century A.D. was called the *Pons Aurelius*. They comprised the Saepta Julia, the Pantheon, the Neptunium, the Portico of the Argonauts, the Vipsanian Portico, the Diribitorium, and the Thermae with its gardens, lake, river, and colonnades.

The first of these in order of time, the Saepta Julia, was completed in 27 B.C. In shape it was a large rectangular building, its roof supported on rows of columns forming seven parallel aisles.² Its original purpose was to provide a covered voting place for the assemblies of the people, which under the Republic had been held in the open air near the Via Flaminia, the modern Corso. But the Saepta had not been long built when these assemblies lost all importance, and under the Empire it was sometimes used for meetings

¹ Strabo, V, iii, 8.

² Julius Caesar had planned a similar building. Cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, IV, 16.

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of the senate, but more frequently as a bazaar where curiosities were exhibited for sale.¹ It was lavishly decorated with marble veneering on its walls and pillars ; statues of Pan, Chiron, Achilles, and Olympus stood in the aisles ; and we know from Martial that professional diners-out found it a good hunting-ground.² Little of it now remains above ground, but eight rows of its structural columns are still visible under the church of S. Maria and the Doria Palace.

At the Saepta triumphal processions to the Forum often started, being marshalled in the adjoining Porticus Triumphi, a portico exactly a mile long, and consequently a very favourite resort for Romans who wished to take a constitutional and know accurately how far they had walked. Close to the Saepta also, and built for the same useful purpose, was the *Diribitorium*, the Counting Hall, where the votes of the people given in the Saepta were brought to be counted and checked. Its chief architectural feature was the enormous span of its wooden roof, the largest ever constructed in ancient times, which was regarded as one of the wonders of Rome. Some idea of its size may be gained from one of the superfluous timbers which Pliny saw preserved as a curiosity in the Saepta, a beam of larch wood one hundred feet long and one and a half feet thick. Like the Saepta, the Counting Hall soon lost its reason for existence, and in the second century A.D. was chiefly used for theatrical

¹ In Martial, *Ep.*, X, 80, 4, a pampered youth weeps because he cannot buy the whole Saepta.

² Martial, *Ep.*, II, 14, 5.

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shows. In the reign of Severus its roof became unsafe and the whole structure was pulled down.

The two buildings just mentioned had a practical purpose, but it was purely for the enjoyment of the people that Agrippa designed his three porticoes—the Portico of Good Result, the Portico of the Argonauts, and the Vipsanian Portico. With the fountains and the public baths, these shady colonnades where one could sit in the cool made for the populace a grateful alleviation of the summer heat when rich folk left Rome for their villas in the country and sea-side. Of Agrippa's three the best known and the most frequented was the Portico of the Argonauts, so called because its walls were covered with frescoes representing episodes in the search for the Golden Fleece under Jason's leadership. Horace in his Epistles and Martial in his Epigrams refer to its popularity, and in Juvenal's Sixth Satire there is an interesting passage which illustrates another use to which these porticoes were put. Just before the Christmas Saturnalia, when shelter from the rain and wind is very necessary at Rome, pedlars were allowed to erect canvas booths in the arcade—as they are now on the Paris boulevards at about the same season of the year :

[E]
'When Christmas-tide is due

And merchant Jason and his martial crew
Are hidden by white booths, she claims as prize
Big crystal pots, and jars of monstrous size
In alabaster, or, what she likes best,
A famous diamond that was once possessed
By Berenice : you will understand
It gets an extra value from her hand.

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This precious ring Agrippa gave of yore
To his incestuous sister on that shore
Where kings barefooted keep the Sabbath day,
And ancient rites forbid men pigs to slay.' ¹

Of the Portico of Good Result and the Templum Boni Eventus, which Agrippa built with it in 25 B.C., we know little except that Hadrian restored the temple, and four centuries later one Claudius, prefect of Rome in A.D. 374, restored the portico. But the third colonnade, the Porticus Vipsania, was one of the sights of Rome. It was designed by Agrippa before his death, and in accordance with his will was begun by his sister Polla and finally completed by Augustus. On its inner walls was painted the map of the world, for which Agrippa had long been gathering information, a map used by Pliny in his *Natural History*, and described, though not very clearly, by the geographer Strabo : ²

'It is mostly the ocean which delineates the land and gives it form, creating bays, seas, straits, isthmuses, peninsulas, and caves. The rivers and the mountains contribute to the effect. By these means continents and peoples and the positions of cities and the other details, of which the map is full, are perceived to advantage. Included is the multitude of islands scattered in the seas and along every coast.'

In close proximity to the Porch of the Argonauts Agrippa in 26 B.C. built a large hall known as the Neptunium, or Basilica Neptuni. Its purpose probably was to serve as an administrative centre for the permanent navy which Agrippa had created, and if this were so it would correspond with our Admiralty.

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* VI, 153-160.

² Strabo, II, 5, 17.

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A considerable portion of it is still to be seen in the Piazza di Pietra, eleven columns of its north side and the north wall with part of a decorated ceiling. The peristyle of the building had originally thirty-six columns, sculptured figures representing the thirty-six provinces of the Empire standing one under each column. Thirteen of these figures have been discovered, but they are now scattered in various collections.

Of the *Thermae* little now remains, for even in the seventh century the marble of the buildings was being burned for lime. The great hall suffered in the fire of A.D. 80, but it must have been restored, for Martial says :

‘Perchance some bath hall sees him take a dipper,
Titus or Tigellinus or Agrippa.’¹

And perhaps the beautiful hall discovered at the back of the Pantheon is another of Hadrian’s reconstructions. It is about fifty yards long and twenty yards wide, with sixteen niches for statues and a platform at the end for a large sculptural group. The ceiling was supported by eight fluted columns, and round the top of the walls ran a frieze, of which part still exists, decorated with dolphins, tridents, and cockle-shells in memory of Agrippa’s sea battles. By a strange chance when the hall was excavated, the bones of a man, killed by the fall of the ceiling centuries before, was found under a mass of masonry, and close by a pot containing many coins of the thirteenth century, which may possibly give a date for the building’s final collapse.

¹ Martial, III, 20, 15.

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Last comes the Pantheon, one of the very few buildings in the world that has stood for nearly two thousand years and is to-day still in sound condition and used practically for its original purpose, partly as a temple, and partly as a show place. It has been called the Sphinx of the Campus Martius, for to archaeologists it has always offered many riddles extremely difficult to solve. For example, many scholars in the past thought that the Pantheon was part of Agrippa's *Thermae*, and was designed to be the *caldarium*, or hot room, of his great bath building. But this theory, although eloquently supported by Emil Braun in the nineteenth century, is now generally abandoned. More important is the question how far the present structure is the building that Agrippa finished in 27 B.C., and dedicated two years later as a temple to Mars and Venus. The first date is proved by the inscription still existing on the frieze of the front portico, the second by the notice in the history of Cassius Dio¹ describing the events of the year 25: 'In this year Agrippa opened the so-called Pantheon.'

Recent investigation has shown that the Emperor Hadrian carried out a very drastic restoration of the whole building in the years A.D. 120-124, and it is very difficult to tell exactly how far his architect in making alterations followed Agrippa's original design. One fact, however, is certain. Agrippa's Pantheon was seriously injured by the great fire in the reign of Titus A.D. 80, and was repaired by Domitian only to be damaged again by a conflagration in Trajan's time.

¹ Dio, Bk. LIII, Ch. xxvii.

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The present rotunda, whose bricks can be dated as made in the early second century A.D., when restored by Hadrian was completely fireproof, and to-day is structurally in much the same condition as he left it. Yet even this is not quite certain, for an inscription tells us: 'Septimius Severus and Caracalla restored the Pantheon, which through lapse of time had fallen into decay.' There is still another question. The Pantheon is in two parts: a rectangular portico forming the entrance, and immediately behind, joined to it by a square projection, a huge rotunda supporting a domed roof. Critics have always complained that the two parts are not symmetrical, and various theories have been put forward to account for the defect. Some think that Agrippa built the rotunda first and then added the portico as an afterthought. Others, with more probability, suppose that Hadrian's architect kept Agrippa's portico but altered the shape of the building in the rear. All these questions, however, belong to the sphere of archaeology, and we may now attempt to describe the Pantheon as it stands to-day.

The Portico, paved with slabs of Egyptian stone, has eight columns in front and three at each side, monoliths of red and grey Egyptian granite with Corinthian capitals of white marble. Two of the fourteen were restored by the Popes, Urban VIII and Alexander VII, whose heraldic arms can be seen among the acanthus foliage. The frieze of the entablature is plain, except for the inscription originally in bronze letters:

M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT.

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In the pediment was a large bronze relief, representing the battle between the gods and the giants ; but this has now disappeared. On each side of the doorway is a niche which originally contained a statue of Agrippa on the one side and of Augustus on the other. The doors themselves, the best existing specimen of Roman bronze work, are intact, and have on each side fluted pilasters with Tuscan capitals. The rectangular projection joining the portico to the rotunda is divided vertically by Corinthian pillars, and horizontally by friezes decorated with garlands. The wall surface is covered with large slabs of Pentelic marble, five and a half inches thick, eleven feet long, and three feet wide. Two small doors on either side lead to stairways built in the thickness of the concrete wall.

The rotunda is the great feature of the Pantheon. The walls supporting the dome are of concrete nearly twenty feet thick with a thin facing of brick. Outside, the lower of the three stories was originally covered with marble slabs of the same character as those which remain in the rectangular projection ; the two upper stories were coated with stucco. In the interior the mass of concrete is reduced by seven niches, in which Mommsen thought the statues of the seven planetary deities were placed. The three stories were divided by cornices, partly of marble and partly of large tiles covered with mouldings and then painted and gilt. All three were lavishly adorned with columns and wall linings of Phrygian marble brought from the quarries which Agrippa at his death bequeathed to Augustus. In the lower story much of the ancient splendour still

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remains ; in the two upper stories marble has been replaced by stucco. The floor is paved with large slabs of a great variety of material—granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble all being used ; and here the old design probably survives.

To look round the rotunda is wonderful, but to look up is even more inspiring ; and a description of the dome by an English writer may be quoted :

‘ The internal effect of the dome with its slanting flood of sunlight is imposing beyond all possible description ; the effect of its central hypaethral opening, framing a patch of blue sky across which white clouds are seen moving, makes it unlike any other building in the world. Moreover, the apparent size of the dome is not diminished by its being raised to a great height above the floor, and consequently it looks enormously larger than the dome of St. Peter’s, which is almost the same size. The interior diameter of the Pantheon is 144 feet, and its height from the pavement to the central opening is almost, if not exactly, the same. The construction of this enormous cupola is a remarkable instance of the extraordinarily skilful use of concrete by the Romans ; it is cast in one solid mass, and is as free from lateral thrust as if it were cut out of one block of stone. Though having the arch form, it is in no way constructed on the principle of the arch. The inner surface is divided into a series of square coffers, now quite devoid of ornament, but once probably decorated with mouldings in stucco, painted and gilt. In its original state the dome must have looked like a gigantic mound of shining gold, as it was covered with tiles of gilt bronze ; one part only exists of this magnificent roofing, which not only covered the external surface but was carried also round the rim of the central opening. Round this cornice a ring of enriched bronze mouldings still exists, the various members of which are delicately ornamented with

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egg and dart, acanthus leaves and fluting, finished with great care in spite of their being almost invisible at so great a height.'¹

The later history of the Pantheon offers some points of interest. After the restoration of the building by Caracalla in 202, nothing of much importance occurred until 608, when the tyrant Phocas handed it over to Boniface IV. The Pope then consecrated the structure as a Christian church, S. Maria ad Martyres, and at the same time instituted the Feast of All Saints. In 663 the Pantheon suffered its first loss at the hands of plunderers, for in that year the gold-plated tiles in the dome were removed by the Byzantine emperor, Constans II, who intended to take them back with him to Constantinople. The Saracen pirates, however, who then held Syracuse punished him for his sacrilege, and not only killed the emperor but carried his booty off to their stronghold. All through the early Middle Ages marble was continually being stripped from the walls, but the next great robbery did not take place till 1625. Pope Urban VIII, one of the Barberini family, then took from the portico its bronze ceiling and the tubular bronze girders which supported it, using the four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of metal thus secured for casting eighty guns which he mounted on the ramparts of the Castle of S. Angelo. '*Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini*' was Pasquin's comment on this vandalism; but popular indignation was appeased when Urban supplied the

¹ *Ancient Rome*, by J. H. Middleton. Edinburgh, 1885.

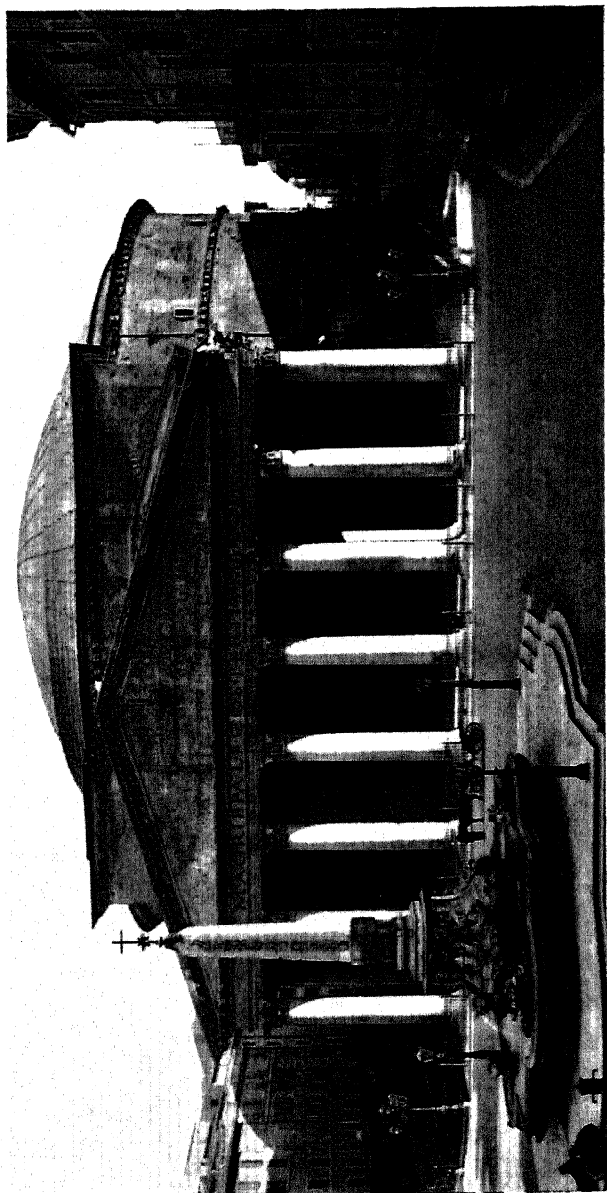


Photo Andersen

THE PANTHEON

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present wooden roof, and a contemporary writer, Giano Eritreo, even found the Pope's conduct praiseworthy :

‘ Our good pontiff could not bear the idea that a mass of metal intended for loftier purposes, should demean itself to the task of keeping out the wet. He raised it to a worthier destiny, for it is only fitting that such noble material should keep off the enemies of the Church rather than the rain. In any case Agrippa's temple has gained more than it has lost, for the Pope has given it a much finer roof.’

The Pantheon is the best known and the best preserved of Agrippa's buildings in Rome ; but in utility, the quality on which Agrippa himself probably set the highest value, it is surpassed by another part of his work which even to-day in changed form is carrying out the task for which he designed it. For many travellers the greatest charm of the Eternal City is found not in the grandiose buildings of the new régime nor in the battered remains of classical antiquity, but rather in the renaissance fountains whose generous flow of crystal water affords such a pleasant relief to the noise of crowded streets and the arid stretches of the Roman Forum : and it is very largely to Agrippa that we owe the water-supply which gives those fountains life.

The Roman aqueducts, a typical product of the Roman genius, were the admiration of the ancient world. Strabo says of them :¹ ‘ If the Greeks have the reputation of aiming most happily in the foundation of cities, in that they aimed at beauty and a strong position, harbours and rich soil, the Romans have shown the greater foresight in those matters of which

¹ Strabo, III, 5, 8.

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the Greeks took little account, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts and sewers. Water is brought into Rome in such abundance that veritable rivers flow through the streets, and almost every house has cisterns and fountains without stint. Marcus Agrippa adorned the city with many other votive offerings, but it was for the water-supply that he took especial thought.' Galen writes to the same effect. 'The beauty and the number of the Roman fountains is wonderful. None emits water that is foul, mineralized, turbid, hard, or cold.' And fortunately we are not dependent for our knowledge of the construction and management of the aqueducts on stray references in Latin literature. We possess an exhaustive account of the Roman water-supply in the reign of Hadrian written by Frontinus,¹ who under Hadrian was *curator aquarum*, in our language Chairman of the Metropolitan Water Board. Frontinus makes no attempt at elegant writing, but he has a thorough knowledge of his subject, and reveals himself in the *De Aquis* as one of those faithful public servants, honest, loyal, and devoted to duty, who carried the burden of imperial administration on their sturdy shoulders. Unlike some of our authorities, he has no need to depend on others for his facts, and he never attributes to Augustus work for which Agrippa was solely responsible. From his book we learn that of the nine aqueducts which supplied Rome in the middle of the second century A.D., Agrippa had reconstructed three: the Appia, the Anio Vetus, and

¹ Frontinus is translated, in the Loeb Library. See also *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, J. Ashby, Oxford, 1935, a master work.

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the Marcia in the year of his aedileship. Two others of the nine, the Julia and the Virgo, were Agrippa's own work, and from Frontinus it becomes obvious that in the history of Roman water-supply Agrippa is the most important name.

Rome has always been a city of running waters, and Cicero notes the foresight which Romulus displayed in choosing the site for his new settlement. For four hundred and forty-one years from the foundation of the city, Frontinus tells us, the Romans were satisfied with the use of such waters as they drew from the Tiber, from wells, or from springs. But as the population increased these natural sources proved insufficient, and in the year 312 B.C. the first of the great Roman aqueducts was made. It was built by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, who in his term of office also constructed the great south road, the Appian Way. The source from which it drew its water is uncertain, for the springs in the quarry of La Rustica, near Via Collatina, seem incapable of giving the supply with which it is credited in ancient times. Just before it entered Rome it was brought across a valley on a series of low arches, but for most of its course it was an underground conduit, passing at a deep level beneath the Via Appia. It discharged its water into a large reservoir near the Porta Maggiore, and was thence distributed over the various quarters of the city. The next, a larger aqueduct, was the Anio, known as Anio Vetus after the time of the Emperor Claudius who built the Anio Novus. The Anio Vetus, planned by the censors Curius Dentatus and Papirius Cursor in 273 B.C., and

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completed two years later by Fulvius Flaccus, had its intake near Tibur, some eighteen miles east of Rome, and followed the line of the modern railway to Tivoli. For most of its course it ran underground, and for its structure solid blocks of stone were used laid in cement, its inner surface being plastered with a special form of concrete in which powdered pottery and marble were mixed with the lime.

After this nothing was done for over a hundred years, although we know that the supply of water was becoming manifestly inadequate considering the great increase in the city's population. Cato, as censor in 184 B.C., attempted to improve matters by cutting the pipes which private consumers had been allowed to bring into their houses, and compelling all alike to draw their water from the public cisterns. The next censors actually entered into a contract for a new aqueduct, but were prevented from carrying out their plans by the selfish obstinacy of Licinius Crassus who refused to allow the aqueduct arches to be carried across his estate. The shortage of water, however, was becoming acute, and finally the praetor, Marcus Rex, was instructed by the senate in 143 B.C. to repair the two existing aqueducts, and to construct a new one, which afterwards bore his name, the Marcia. A sum of a million and a half pounds was allotted him for the purpose, and although the commissioners in charge of the Sibylline Books produced an oracle forbidding the undertaking, he carried out his task in two years. For it he tapped the springs in the upper valleys of the Anio, which after centuries of neglect were used again

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by the English company, who in 1870 brought the Aqua Marcia into Rome. Built of rough-hewn stone, the aqueduct passed on arches across the valleys and in tunnels through the hills until it reached the Via Latina. There it sank into an underground conduit, to be taken up again on arches, remains of which still exist, and was thus carried for the last seven miles. Its water, the *Marcus liquor*, was considered the finest of all for drinking purposes, and in general estimation it ranked even above the Virgo and the Claudia. A fourth and less important aqueduct, the Tepula, was built in 125 B.C.: and then again nothing was done for nearly a century.

This was the condition of affairs when Agrippa entered upon his aedileship in 33 B.C. The population of Rome had risen by natural increase to a total of about a million, and the conduits of the four existing aqueducts, owing to a century of senatorial management, were almost worn out, causing an extravagant waste. His first business was to repair their structure thoroughly, and to organize a gang of slaves, his own property, to see to their proper care and maintenance in the future. He also, as we have said, built a large number of public fountains in the city—‘*salientes*,’ ‘leapers’ is the name that Frontinus gives them—from which the people could more easily draw their water. But these remedial measures were not enough. A fresh source of supply was necessary, and before his year of office was over he began, apparently at his own expense, to construct a new aqueduct, which when finished he called the Julia.

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In this, the first of his two aqueducts, Agrippa tried the curious experiment of mixing together two waters of different quality. The Tepula drew its supply from some slightly warm volcanic springs upon the estate of Lucullus in the Alban Hills, about ten miles from Rome on the Via Latina. Its temperature made it unsuitable for drinking purposes, and Agrippa, discovering some cold springs along the road two miles further out from the city, decided to use these springs, now called Aqua Algidosa, for his new aqueduct, and to mix their water with the Tepula, thus increasing the flow and improving the quality. Accordingly he built a conduit for the two miles that separated his springs from those of Tepula, and at the tenth milestone, just below where Tepula started, he allowed the new water to enter the existing channel. At the sixth milestone from Rome the combined streams, taking breath, as Frontinus says, after their run, entered covered settling tanks where they deposited their sediment. Then from the settling tanks two separate conduits, one for the Julia and one for the Tepula, brought the water into the city, their arches one above the other, being still visible at the Porta Maggiore.¹

It is probable that before the Julia was finished Agrippa had already conceived his idea of a great bathing palace for the people. The water brought in by the combined Julia-Tepula, although it was of improved quality, was not of much greater quantity than before, and he determined to build a second

¹ See opposite page.

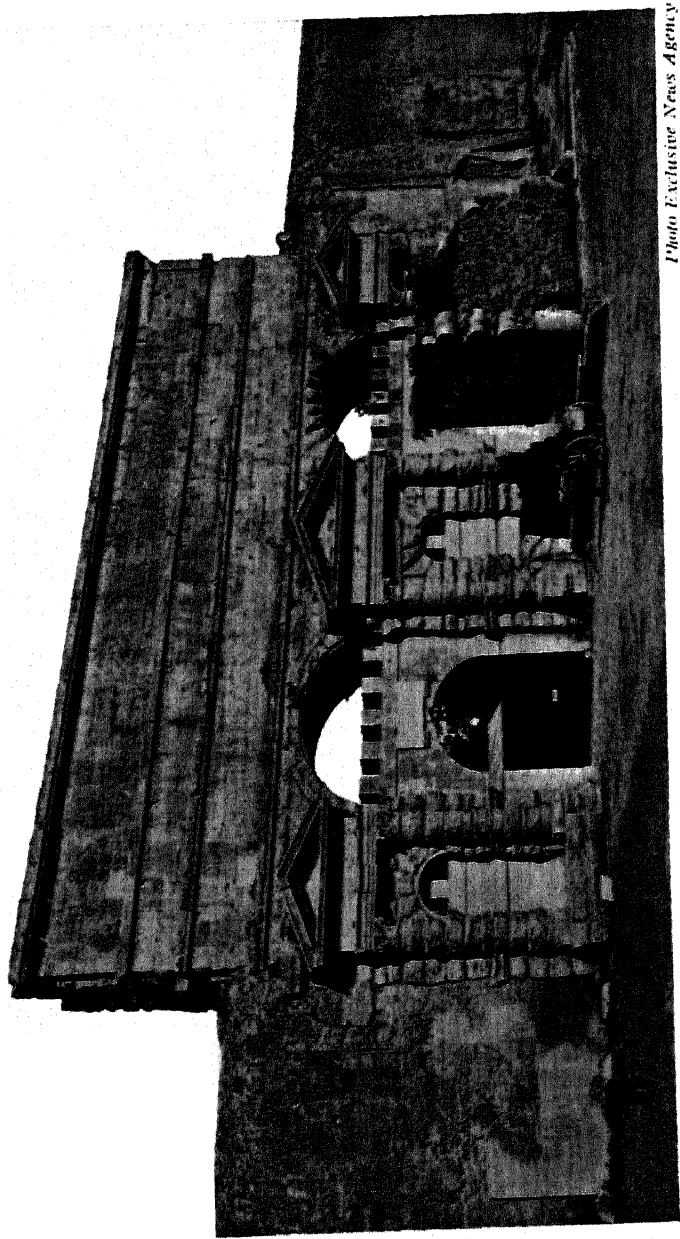


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THE ROMAN AQUEDUCTS

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aqueduct of larger dimensions from which his *Thermae* might be supplied. In the period between 30 and 20 B.C. this was one of the innumerable tasks on which he was engaged, and finally in 19 B.C. the *Virgo*, perhaps his greatest gift to Rome, poured its water into the city. Frontinus gives us the facts with his usual concision :

‘In the consulship of Gaius Sentius and Quintus Lucretius, twelve years after he had constructed the Julian aqueduct, Agrippa also brought *Virgo* to Rome, taking it from the estate of Lucullus. We learn that it was June 9th when it first began to flow in the city. It was called *Virgo* because a young girl pointed out certain springs to the soldiers who were looking for water, and when they followed these up and dug, they found a copious supply. The shrine at the spring contains a picture illustrating this incident. The head of the *Virgo* is at the eighth milestone on the *Via Gollatina*, in the marshes, surrounded by a cemented tank to isolate the gushing springs ; this supply is augmented by several tributary springs. Its length is 14,105 paces. For 12,865 paces of this distance it is carried in an underground channel, for 1240 paces it is above ground. For this latter distance it is on substructures at various points for 540 paces, and on arches for 700 paces. The underground channels of the tributary springs make up 1405 paces.’

As with his *Thermae*, so with his aqueducts, Agrippa's example was followed by the emperors after him. When Augustus constructed the huge circus under the *Janiculum*, which could be flooded at will for mimic sea battles, he brought water from Lake *Alsietinus* about twenty miles from Rome, the new aqueduct being usually called *Alsietina* but sometimes *Augusta*. One of the first shows given in the enclosure

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was apparently a representation of the Battle of Salamis, and Ovid refers to it in his usual gay fashion : ¹

‘The other morn in mimic fight
We saw a Grecian fleet arrayed,
While Persian galleys painted bright
Their part as fierce assailants played,
When all men flocked to Caesar’s show
Thronging the circus row on row.

From every land fair maidens came
And youths from every sea around,
Abundant fuel for love’s flame
When all the world in Rome was found,
Each manly heart was in a whirl,
Enraptured by some foreign girl.’

The water brought by the Alsietina was of very poor quality, and what was left over when the Naumachia circus was filled was used for watering gardens and flushing sewers. Frontinus speaks of it with professional scorn : ‘The reason why Augustus, a most provident emperor, introduced the Aqua Alsietina, called Augusta, is not quite clear to me : it has no good quality, being in fact hardly wholesome, and is therefore nowhere served to the public. Its conduit has a total length of 22,172 paces, 358 paces on arches.’

The next addition was of much greater importance :

‘After Agrippa and Augustus, Gaius Caesar finding seven aqueducts hardly sufficient for both public needs and private pleasures began to construct two more. This work Claudius most magnificently finished and dedicated in the consulship of Sulla and Titianus on the first of August A.D. 52. One

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*.

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supply was called the Claudia, the other came to be called Anio Novus. The head source of the Claudia is at the thirty-eighth milestone, the water coming from two very copious and beautiful springs, the Caerulean, so called from its blue colour, and the Curtian.' (Frontinus 13-14.)

The cost of the Claudia was very high, but Claudius apparently suffered at the hands of his contractors. The arches and reservoir of the Claudia were built of ashlar, while the Anio Novus placed above it was of brick lined with concrete; and this proved to be constructionally unsound. After ten years the supply failed and both Vespasian and his son Titus were compelled to undertake extensive repairs. But although the structure was bad, the water was of very fine quality, and the Romans, who were connoisseurs in this matter, ranked it as almost equal with the Marcia. Of all the aqueducts too, the remains of the Claudia are by far the most impressive, the long and broken line of its arches stretching far into the distance across the Campagna.

The next aqueduct builder was Trajan, who in A.D. 109 constructed the Trajana, now the Paola, for the industrial quarter on the right bank of the Tiber. Trajan also greatly improved the quality of the water in Anio Novus, taking the supply not from the river itself, which in flood time was turbid and muddy, but from the wooded lake near Nero's villa where the water is exceptionally cold and clear. Last of all came the Aqua Alexandriana, so called from the Emperor Alexander Severus who built it in A.D. 230, probably to supply the Baths of Caracalla. Its springs, about fifteen miles from Rome near the Colle di Sassabello,

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were used by Pope Sixtus V in 1585 for his Aqua Felice, and ninety-two of its arches can be seen from the Via Labicana.

These were the eleven aqueducts which supplied Rome, and it has been estimated that they brought forty million gallons of water into the city every day. Taking the population of Rome as about a million, each person had an allowance of forty gallons a day; and although this figure may seem high, it is not improbable considering the waste which their system of a continuous flow involved, and also the immense amount of water used in the public baths and the sewers. By the third century A.D. bathing had become the favourite recreation of Rome and the six great *Thermae* made a very heavy call on the aqueducts. The disposal of sewage also in a city of Rome's size was a serious problem, and the health of the people depended on a constant flushing of the drains, which would have been impossible if Agrippa and his successors had not brought in an abundant water-supply.

We must now return to the *Virgo* and its later history. References to the *virgineus liquor* and both Ovid and Statius sing its praises. Seneca also recommends it to bathers for its coolness, and Martial stresses the same point in the epigram on the young student who takes his exercise in the shortest possible time: ¹

‘You go for a run where the cold *Virgo* flows
Or where Europe's bull in the portico shows.
To trifle with games in a square, I confess,
When one might take a run, is just sheer idleness.’

¹ Martial, VII, 32.

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Another epigram extols the attractions of a private bath-establishment :

'If you never have bathed with Etruscus, my friend,
Then you'll die still unbathed, when you come to your end . . .
If you like Spartan methods, first try the dry heat
Then a plunge, where the Virgo and Marcia meet ;
For the water's so bright and the stone shines so clear
You would never suspect any water was there :'¹

The Virgo's aqueduct was so well built that it required no attention until early in the fourth century A.D., when Constantine cleared the springs and rebuilt such of its arches as had collapsed ; and in the early years of the sixth century Cassiodorus can still write : 'The Aqua Virgo runs with delightful purity, for while other waters during excessive rain are invaded by earthy matter, the Virgo's current runs pure as never clouded sky.' But in 537 the Goths under Vitiges came down upon Rome, and at a point in the Campagna where several lines of aqueducts converged the barbarians established a walled camp, cutting off the city's water-supply and using the masonry of the aqueduct arches as part of their fortification. The Virgo, like the other aqueducts, suffered considerable damage, and Belisarius, the Byzantine general who was defending Rome for the Eastern emperor, was compelled to block up its entrance into the city for fear that the assailants would creep through the passage within the walls. The historian Procopius tells us how necessary the precaution proved. The Goths, with torches in their hands, one night made their way along the aqueduct

¹ Martial, VI, 42.

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and reached the place where the barrier prevented further progress. Then after dislodging one of the stones as evidence they returned to their chief. While they were underground one of the city guards looked down a ventilation shaft into the aqueduct and in the depths saw a glimmer of light. His comrades laughed and told him that it was a wolf's eyes shining in the darkness, but he still thought it best to report the incident to Belisarius. The general took his tale seriously and sent a party down to investigate, who found droppings left by the Goths' torches along the passage. Henceforth, says Procopius, a close guard was kept underground, and the Goths abandoned any further attempt in that direction.

For some two centuries after this inroad the aqueducts were left neglected, their water flowing waste and turning the plain into a desolate marsh. In 776 the great Pope, Adrian I, appointed by Charles the Great, began the task of reconstruction, substituting underground conduits for overhead arches ; and after that time his work was continued at intervals by the more energetic of his successors. Pope Calixtus I, for example, in 1120, finding the water running in waste from the ruins of the Julian aqueduct, constructed a new channel, the Marrana Mariana, to carry the stream into the city, fencing off the watercourse, like our New River, and planting vines and fruit trees along the banks. So the Julia again became useful, while as for the Virgo, Adrian himself repaired its conduit for the greater part of its course. After a time the supply failed, but Pope Nicholas V, in 1453, succeeded in

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bringing water along its channel from the Via Salaria. Pius IV began a complete restoration, and Pius V in 1570 completed his predecessor's work. One more incident in Virgo's history may be mentioned. Early in the seventeenth century excavators found near the little church of S. Macuto what was probably the actual pipe which delivered the Virgo water to Agrippa's *Thermae*, 'a huge lead pipe fifty palms below the ground level, wide and gaping like the outside of a large howitzer.'¹ To-day the springs that Agrippa found supply the Aqua Vergine which we see gushing from Bernini's two masterpieces, the Fontana di Trevi and the Ship Fountain in the Piazza di Spagna : and so, although Agrippa's structures have perished, his work as a water-giver still remains.

From Frontinus' book we see that Agrippa did not confine himself to building his aqueducts, but that he was also an organizer and a practical engineer. In the first capacity he acted during his lifetime as curator of the Roman water-supply and created a body of skilled slave workers, two hundred and forty in number, whom at his death he bequeathed to Augustus. In the second capacity he seems to have invented a new system of measuring water by *quinariae*. The subject is dealt with by Frontinus in ten highly technical chapters, and here it must suffice to say that the *quinaria* was a measure not of volume but of capacity, *i.e.* as much water as would flow through a pipe $1\frac{1}{4}$ digits in diameter (hence the name *quinaria* $\frac{5}{4}$) constantly discharging under pressure. In ordinary cases a *quinaria*

¹ Donati, *Roma vetus et recens*, p. 293.

would be five thousand or six thousand gallons in twenty-four hours.

Of the buildings and aqueducts which Agrippa constructed in Gaul, and of the great main roads which he made there, we shall speak in a later chapter. But there is one engineering work of his in Italy outside Rome which requires to be mentioned here. When he was making his new harbour at Lake Avernus, he had some difficulty in transporting such building materials as could not conveniently be brought by sea. The whole country in the vicinity of the Bay of Naples has been broken up by volcanic agency into a series of steep ridges and shallow depressions, so that to construct a level road suitable for heavy traffic between Avernus and Cumae, the nearest town, was almost impossible. Agrippa solved the problem, as our railway engineers have done, by making a tunnel road, such as now runs round Lake Como, which seems to have been the first of its kind. Three-quarters of a mile in length, it was kept perfectly level, light and ventilation being supplied by shafts cut above. This tunnel was followed by a similar road pierced through the cliffs that separate Naples from the well-named pleasure resort of Pausilypon, 'Sorrowsend.' Portions of this work still remain, the tunnel being faced with stone and varying in width from thirteen to twenty-one feet, and in height from thirteen to twenty-eight feet. Agrippa built it, as he did all his work, for public use, but it was taken as his private property by one of the later emperors, and a second tunnel was made through the same cliffs, which is now known as the Grotta di Posilipo, and is still in good repair.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORGANIZATION OF EMPIRE

THE reorganization of the whole system of Roman government, which began in 30 B.C., went on until the year 18, when Augustus recognized Agrippa as co-regent ; and during all this period Agrippa was performing an almost incredible amount of work. The previous decade had been one of continuous fighting, in which he had turned from one military task to another, at Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Brundisium, in Aquitania, Sicily, Illyria, and at Actium. In 30 he had swept aside all Octavian's rivals, and stood out as the one commander of his time who had never known defeat, the man who could have brought both Germany and Parthia into subjection to Rome. But after Actium for ten years he laid aside the sword, and devoted himself to the completion of his building schemes in Rome and to the great constructive work of organizing the new Roman Empire.

His work may be considered under the three heads of civil administration, military reforms, and settlement of the frontier ; and in dealing with all three a difficulty is caused by the nature of our ancient authorities, and especially by the inscription known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Before his death Augustus wrote an account of his administration which he deposited with

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the Vestal Virgins, giving directions that it should be engraved upon bronze tablets after his decease and set up in front of his mausoleum in the Campus Martius. Although the shell of the mausoleum still stands in Rome, the original tablets have long since disappeared ; but copies of the record were sent to many of the temples dedicated to Rome and Augustus in different parts of the Empire ; and one of these copies in almost perfect preservation was found chiselled upon the walls of the temple at Ancyra (Angora) in Asia Minor. This document, the Queen of Inscriptions as Mommsen called it, was published by the great German historian in 1883, and is now known indifferently either as *Monumentum Ancyranum*, from the place where it was discovered, or as *Res gestae divi Augusti*, from the first words of its text.

The style in which the record is written is familiar to us in Latin inscriptions, simple and concise without one superfluous word. But its simplicity is sometimes misleading. It is in the first person throughout and references to other people are rare. Neither Antony, Lepidus, Sextus Pompeius, nor Brutus and Cassius are ever mentioned by name : but when Augustus says of the last two, '*bellum inferentis reipublicae vici bis acie*,' 'when they made war on the state I conquered them twice in battle,' it is plain that his words must not be taken literally, for we know from Appian that the victory at Philippi was entirely due to Antony. Similarly, when Augustus says, '*mare pacavi a praedonibus . . . Gallias et Hispanias provincias pacavi . . . aquam quae Marcia appellatur duplicavi*,' 'I freed the

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sea from pirates . . . I pacified the provinces of Gaul and Spain. . . . I doubled the flow of the Marcian aqueduct,' we know from other sources that he is taking to himself the work which was really done by Agrippa. In this chapter an attempt will be made to give Agrippa the credit that is his due, and if some statements here are found to be at variance with official history they should not for that reason only be considered as incorrect.

But before we give that account it will be well to enumerate the chief events which occurred in the ten years 30–20 B.C. ; for in nearly all of them Agrippa was more or less closely concerned. In 29 Octavian returned to Rome from the East, and after celebrating a triple triumph chose Agrippa as his colleague in the consulship for the next year. On January 1st, 28, they entered on office and made a thorough purge of the senate, compelling nearly two hundred of its members to resign their position. A new senatorial roll was then drawn up, in which, at Agrippa's suggestion, Octavian's name was put first, so that he became '*princeps senatus*.' The new senate met on January 13th, and by that time everything had been arranged behind the scenes for the establishment of the principate. Octavian began the proceedings by formally resigning the extraordinary powers which he had held. '*Rempublicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli*,' 'I transferred the republic from my own authority to the free disposal of the senate and people of Rome.' These are his own words in the *Res Gestae*, and as so often happens with him they are partly, but

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only partly, true. They are true, inasmuch as he did resign his powers ; they are untrue, inasmuch as the senate according to arrangement immediately offered him the proconsular command, which gave him the control of all the armed forces of the state. This he agreed to accept, and three days later, among other honourable distinctions, the arch-traitor Plancus, now his warm supporter, proposed that henceforth he should bear the name 'Augustus.'

In the autumn of 27 B.C. Augustus, as we shall now call him, went on the abortive expedition to Spain which we shall describe later.¹ Agrippa was left in charge at Rome, and for the next three years all was quiet in Italy. But the return of Augustus from Spain in 24 was followed the next year by a dangerous conspiracy against him, of which the leaders were Caepio and Murena, the latter being brother to Maecenas' wife Terentia. When the conspiracy was discovered Maecenas informed his wife, an imprudence which was never quite forgiven ; and then Augustus once more was stricken down by illness, this time so seriously that his life was in danger. Many thought at this time that he intended his nephew Marcellus to succeed him ; but at the crisis of his malady he summoned the chief magistrates and in their presence handed his signet ring, not to Marcellus, but to Agrippa. Thanks, however, to his physician, Antonius Musa, Augustus recovered, and in the summer of 23 strengthened his constitutional position by ceasing to hold the consulship with a colleague, and in its place

¹ See Chapter IX, p. 223.

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assuming the tribunician power, which gave him all the rights which the tribunes possessed without their disabilities.

The *tribunicia potestas* and the *proconsulare imperium* were henceforth the two foundations of the imperial power, one giving predominance in civil, the other in military affairs. Augustus was careful to keep his control of the army in the background, but he made full use of his tribunician power and used it to date the years of his administration. In the official documents issued in the last year of his life his full title appears thus: '*Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Cos. xiii, Imp. xx, Trib. Pot. xxxvii, Pater Patriae*,' 'Caesar Augustus, son of the deified Julius, High Priest, thirteen times consul, twenty times hailed Emperor, in the thirty-third year of his tribunician power, father of his country.' All these offices, however, might be held by others, and both Agrippa and Tiberius were invested at different times with the proconsular command and the tribunician power, becoming thus, in the strict sense of the word, colleagues of Augustus. But they were not his equals. In the *Res Gestae* he says '*auctoritate omnibus praestiti*,' and this *auctoritas*, 'the power of final decision,' was expressed in the one title which he reserved for himself, that of Princeps. Whether the name was derived from *princeps senatus*, 'first senator,' or from *princeps civitatis*, 'first citizen,' is of little importance; its very ambiguity exactly suited his purpose.

In these ten years an informal agreement seems to have been made between Augustus and Agrippa that

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they should not both be away from Rome at the same time, and that if one of them was in Italy the other should be in the provinces. Accordingly, in 23 B.C., Agrippa set out for the East, as vice-regent, with the proconsular command which set him above all the provincial governors. Augustus remained in Rome, and there once again he met the misfortunes which usually occurred when he was separated from Agrippa. In the autumn of 23 Marcellus, his nearest male relative, died; in 22 the Tiber overflowed its banks and caused great destruction of property; a shortage in the corn supply followed, and this led to popular disturbances which he had such difficulty in quelling that in 21 he summoned Agrippa to return to Rome and take control. He himself then made preparations to visit Sicily and Greece, but before he left Rome he arranged for Agrippa to divorce Marcella, to take his daughter Julia in her place, and if possible to secure the succession in the Julian family.

We may now return to the main subject of this chapter, and consider Agrippa's achievements in civil administration, where his work extends over a very wide field. We have already described the series of public buildings, begun by him in 33 B.C. and continued after his death by Augustus, which when finished turned Rome from a city of brick into a city of marble. Among those which he brought to completion in the period 30-20 B.C. were the Saepta Julia in 27, the Portico of the Argonauts in 26, the Pantheon in 25, and the Thermae, opened finally for use in 19. We have seen also the measures which he designed to improve the

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health and happiness of the people ; the planning of sewers, the construction of tenements, and the provision of open spaces and public baths. More important even than these were the aqueducts which he built to bring water to Rome, and the regulations which he drew up to keep the aqueducts in good condition. Provision was made, for example, for a permanent establishment of skilled artisans ; and when we consider this in relation with other facts it will seem very probable that the creation of a permanent fire brigade was also due to Agrippa, and with it the beginnings, at least, of an organized police.

Under the Republic, although Rome was the capital of the world, neither fire brigade nor police existed ; for the senate was as indifferent to the people's safety as they were to their health and general welfare. The streets were narrow, crooked, and unlighted ; and if fires occurred, and they occurred frequently, they were put out, when they were put out, by private effort. Crassus, it is true, organized a fire service, but it was for his own private profit. As soon as he heard of an outbreak of fire, he hastened with his brigade to the blaze, and offered to buy the adjacent houses from their owners at his own price : if they agreed the fire was extinguished, if not it was allowed to spread. As for the safety and order which an efficient police force secures, in Cicero's time it had no more existence in the streets of Rome than it had on the sea. Senators and knights were safe enough within their houses guarded by a large family of slaves, and when they went abroad they were usually attended by a company

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of servants and clients. But in the streets mob law was the rule, and politicians could always hire gangs of ruffians to create disturbance whenever they wished. The more formidable of the gangs indeed were controlled by men of some position in the state, and when Milo at the head of his mob killed Clodius, the leader of the opposition gang, on the highway, and was tried for murder, Pompey had to surround the court with soldiers to ensure a semblance of order. Such a state of things with us fortunately has ceased since the time of Sir Robert Peel ; but when politicians are corrupt, police inefficient, and public opinion indifferent, something of the same sort has been known to exist even in our day.

The date when night watchmen were first established in Rome is a matter of some doubt. Appian puts it at the time of Agrippa's aedileship ; but he is probably mistaken in the year, and attributes to Agrippa's early period the work which was really done by him at a later time. Our other authorities agree on 21 B.C., the year when Agrippa was in charge of the government at Rome and Egnatius Rufus was at the height of his popularity. Egnatius was a person of the same stamp as Cataline and Clodius, and although he was of senatorial rank Velleius Paterculus tells us that in all respects he was more like a gladiator than a senator. But that did not prevent him from being a great favourite with the Roman populace who elected him as aedile for the year 21 B.C. During his term of office he organized a band of his own slaves to put out fires, and this proved so acceptable that he was

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elected praetor for the next year. This was a contravention of the usual rule, and when at the end of his aedileship he issued a notice announcing that he handed over the city 'unimpaired and intact' to his successors, Agrippa considered that it was time to take action against him.¹ Accordingly he suppressed Egnatius' voluntary organization and established a corps of six hundred public slaves on the same lines as his water-service men, directly under the orders of the government with the title of '*vigiles*.' Their duty was both to put out fires and to deal with nocturnal marauders ; and it soon became evident that their numbers could be increased with advantage.

We cannot trace the stages of increase, but we know that in the year A.D. 6 Agrippa's original corps had become so important that a complete reorganization was necessary. The *vigiles* after this date were recruited from freedmen, and the strength of the corps was fixed at seven thousand men, divided into seven cohorts of one thousand each. Every cohort had its own headquarters and was responsible for the safety of two of the fourteen regions into which Rome was divided. The men were not ranked as soldiers but they were kept under military discipline. After six years' service they obtained citizen rights, and could then pass into the urban cohorts or the praetorian guard. Their commander was called *praefectus vigilum*, and the office of prefect of the watch was one of the highest open to men of equestrian rank. Moreover, the *vigiles* did not

¹ Egnatius was finally disposed of under a charge of conspiring against Augustus, and died in prison.

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remain for long as the only organized police force. Some time after Agrippa's death three urban cohorts were established, each of one thousand soldiers, a military police under the senatorial prefect of Rome ; and these were followed by the nine praetorian cohorts numbered successively with the urban force. The praetorians were under their own prefect, and after A.D. 21 were quartered permanently in barracks near the Viminal Gate. The change from Republican licence was indeed remarkable ; and once again Agrippa was responsible for taking the first steps. In 21 B.C. the police of Rome numbered six hundred men, in less than fifty years it numbered nineteen thousand, a force comparable to that existing in any modern capital.

When Agrippa established the *vigiles* he conferred a signal benefit on Rome ; when he suggested and put into effect a survey and census of the Mediterranean world he did a service to the whole Empire, and created a basis for a fair system of taxation. Like Alexander the Great, Agrippa took a great interest in geography, and throughout his life he seems to have been accumulating information on geographical questions which in his latter years he embodied in a book, the *Commentarii Geographici*, published after his death by Augustus. In this the distances from one important point to another were given, the length and breadth of the different provinces, and the lines followed by the great trunk roads. It was used both by Strabo and by Pliny the Elder, who quotes Agrippa thirty times in the geographical section of his *Natural History*, and on it was based the map of the world

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which after Agrippa's death was exhibited in the Porticus Vipsania, and possibly also the details of distances from Rome inscribed upon the famous Golden Milestone erected in 20 B.C. just before Agrippa left for Gaul.

It is obvious that in the history of geography, and especially in that division of it known as cartography, Agrippa holds an important place ; for from his Commentaries and his map the two chief varieties of ancient itineraries are derived. The *itineraria picta*, such as the Peutinger Table in Vienna, a strip of parchment twenty-one feet long and one foot wide, trace from his map ; the *itineraria adnotata*, such as the Antonine Itinerary, written about A.D. 350, go back eventually to the Commentaries. Agrippa, however, being a Roman, sought and acquired knowledge for a practical purpose. Eratosthenes and the other Alexandrian scientists had sought to discover the exact size of the earth by astronomical calculations ; Agrippa wanted by actual measurements to discover the size of each country, the number of its inhabitants, the extent of its material resources. For this purpose it would seem that four Greek surveyors, Didymus, Theudotus, Nicodemus, and Polyclitus, were commissioned to take the four quarters of the world, and to send in these particulars to Agrippa. They were then classified by his assistants and formed one part of the Commentaries, where the inhabited world is divided into twenty-four sections.

The practical result of these investigations was seen in the census of the Roman Empire held by Agrippa

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and Augustus in 28 B.C., the year of their joint consulship. A census of the population was not a new thing, but under the Republic it had been taken at irregular intervals—the last occasion was in 69 B.C.—and on restricted lines, its purpose being to discover the number of Roman citizens available for military service. With Agrippa, however, this was only one of his objects. He wished to have a more accurate estimate of the population than had been obtained in the past, and for this purpose his geographical information was of great value. The superiority of the method which he employed in comparison with the Republican system is shown by the figures. In 69 B.C. the number of Roman citizens was given as four hundred and fifty thousand ; in 28 B.C. the number was four million and sixty-three thousand, nearly a tenfold increase in forty years.

But Agrippa also wanted to know the amount of property available for taxation in the western provinces which had recently been added to the Empire. In the East, where wealth was concentrated in the cities, such information could easily be obtained from the municipal authorities ; but in the West, and especially in Gaul where the tribal system was still maintained, it was more difficult. The ten years of hard fighting in the Gallic provinces, from 55 to 45 B.C., had caused such havoc that Julius Caesar, who had made his own fortune there, fixed the annual tribute at the very low figure of forty million sesterces (£320,000). This was plainly inadequate, and as the result of the survey which Didymus had carried out,

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a special census of property was held in 27 B.C., and the tribute was doubled. The Gauls, then as now, were very unwilling to part with money, and for a time there was some disturbance ; but the roads made by Agrippa gave such a stimulus to trade that this sum was soon easily found, and a new valuation became necessary in 12 B.C., and then a third in A.D. 14.

In Spain and in the Danube provinces the same procedure was adopted, and after Agrippa's time whenever a new country was added to the Roman Empire a tax valuation was made by government officials. Judaea, for example, became a Roman province in A.D. 6 on the death of Herod the Great, and as we know 'there went forth a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed,' and Joseph and Mary went up from Nazareth to their home town of Bethlehem to be registered. The new system, with its tax on land and tax on personal property, meant a much fairer distribution of burdens, the abolition of many abuses, and above all a larger revenue. The money was needed, for the fifty years of Agrippa's life correspond to the last fifty years of our history, and social service and the defence of the Empire involved the imperial government in expenditure which the Republic had never known. In his civil capacity Agrippa had spent money lavishly on the people ; and his army reforms, which may be considered next, were equally expensive.

The history of the Roman army falls into three periods. The first period extends from the foundation of the city to the year 146 B.C. ; the second from

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146 B.C. to 30 B.C.; the third from 30 B.C. to the fall of the Empire. In the first period the great figure is Camillus, in the second it is Marius, in the third it is Agrippa. In the first period soldiers were amateurs, but amateurs as skilful and disciplined as our worthy opponents the Boers. In the second period they, like their leaders, were semi-professionals, ostensibly fighting for Rome but really owing loyalty to some particular general, and only to him when they were well paid. In the third period army service became a profession in which a man gave the best years of his life to the state, and from the state received his pay together with an adequate pension on his discharge. Finally, in the first period the army was engaged in bringing first Italy and then most of the Mediterranean countries under the dominion of Rome. In the second period it completed that process, and then was hired for service in the long series of civil wars that began at Pharsalus in 48 and ended at Actium in 31. In the third period it became almost entirely a defensive force, and if we except the year of the Four Emperors its chief units were always far from Rome guarding the frontier.

The legion (*legio*=levy) was at all times the army unit for administrative purposes although its numbers varied considerably at different periods, rising gradually from three thousand to six thousand at full strength. It was subdivided into thirty companies, *manipuli*, each maniple containing two centuries under a centurion, the centurions like our non-commissioned officers being the backbone of the army. Originally each legion was commanded by six military tribunes, elected by the

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people, who held office in turn, although in later times they were superseded by one permanent head, the *legatus*, corresponding roughly to a brigadier-general with us. All citizens of military age were liable for service, but in the early days they served in a rank proportionate to their property. The richest men formed the cavalry, their horses being provided for them by the state; the next class were the heavy infantry, providing their own arms and armour; the four lower classes were light infantry, and when called up were equipped by the state. At first, when fighting was confined to a few months in the year, no pay was given; but after the siege of Veii in 396 B.C., which lasted all the winter, Camillus introduced the *stipendium*, which in the middle of the second century amounted to 2½d. a day and was paid half-yearly. Camillus was also responsible for a new system of raising the cavalry and for a new battle formation, in which the legion was drawn up in three lines, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The old method of close fighting with pikes was abandoned, and the legionaries were trained to fight in open order with the *pilum*, a heavy javelin, and the *gladius*, a short pointed two-edged sword, which in their hands proved the most effective weapon which the ancient world had seen.

The army system in the first period had two grave defects. The first was in the character of the high command which automatically went to the consuls who were in office when a war broke out, even though they happened to be men of no military talent. The second, which developed gradually, was the increasing

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reluctance of middle-class citizens to serve overseas, where often, instead of returning home after each campaign, they were retained with the colours for several years in succession. Incompetent generals and unwilling soldiers form a poor combination, and after three of their consular armies had been annihilated by the Cimbri and Teutons in 105, the Romans commissioned Marius, a man of the people like Agrippa, to reorganize the army. Marius began by a radical alteration in the method of enlistment. Hitherto enrolment had been almost compulsory, a certain number of men being taken by lot from each tribe; and a property qualification was still necessary, although the amount had been considerably reduced. Marius threw open the ranks to all free-born citizens, however poor, who wished to enlist, and abolished all distinctions of age and rank in the legion, where the cohort of six hundred men was made the tactical unit in place of the maniple. The recruits undertook to serve for an indefinite period and swore an oath of allegiance, *sacramentum*, not to the state but to their general; and to him they looked for their pay, their share of the booty, and the allotment of land which was promised, but not always given, at the end of their term of service. Thus within the state was created an organization over which the state had little or no control, and instead of the army being the servant of the nation it became the nation's master. In the last years of the Republic indeed it ceased to be a national or even a single force, and split up into separate and opposing armies.

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To bring the army again into due subordination to the state ; to establish it as a permanent force chiefly occupied with the defence of the Empire ; to keep its numbers as low as were compatible with the efficient performance of that duty ; and to offer such inducements of pay, promotion, and pension as would make army service attractive : these were the objects—not very different from those of our own army council—which Agrippa had in view ; and he achieved them so completely that few alterations were necessary for many years. In our histories the new organization is attributed, as usual, to Augustus in person. But we have seen that in all military matters Augustus relied on Agrippa's help and support, and we may safely conclude that he left the whole business of army administration in his hands, while he himself concentrated on the many financial, political, and social questions which came up for settlement in these ten years.

Agrippa's first task after the battle of Actium had been won was to reduce the number of soldiers then under arms ; for sixty legions, totalling some three hundred thousand men, had been fighting either for Octavian or for Antony. Careful consideration showed him that at least half this force could safely be disbanded, and when Octavian returned to Rome with the Egyptian treasure in his possession he was able to set to work. It was difficult, but it was done ; and we know that in a few years one hundred thousand veterans received their discharge with bounties paid in full. In 14 B.C., when the soldiers, retained in the

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army after Actium, completed their sixteen years' term of service, there was another great clearance ; and just before his death Augustus was able to claim that he had provided for three hundred thousand men after their retirement from the army. In Italy alone there were twenty-eight cities in which veterans were settled, and while the Triumvirs had taken the land allotments by force, after 30 B.C. a fair payment was made to each municipality from the imperial treasury. As a result, not only were the ex-service men peacefully absorbed, but also many ancient cities, such as Veii, Nola, Perugia, Capua, and Beneventum, regained some of their former importance, while new foundations like Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) began a career of prosperity which has lasted till to-day.

Even more beneficial were the military colonies established in nearly every part of the Empire : in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, Spain, Mysia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, and Pisidia. Under the Republic, government and people alike had steadily opposed the idea of Roman colonies overseas, and when Gaius Gracchus proposed to settle Romans and Italians together in a new township, Junonia, on the site of Carthage, the senate and the mob combined to murder him. But under the Empire this absurd exclusiveness was in process of disappearing, and just as Alexander had spread Greek civilization in the East by means of the veterans whom he left in the towns which he founded, so now Agrippa and Augustus by the same methods spread Roman civilization in the West. In our next chapter we shall see how southern Gaul and southern Spain were soon filled with flourish-

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ing towns where the direction of affairs was largely in the hands of Roman soldiers who had taken up their permanent homes in the country. In the other provinces, and especially in Africa, the same process was going on ; and each new settlement was a centre from which Roman influence quickly spread.

The next step was to decide how many soldiers it was necessary to keep ; and it is now generally agreed that in 14 B.C. the Roman army contained twenty-eight legions. These were in A.D. 23 distributed as follows. Eight legions kept watch on the Rhine, seven were in the Danube provinces, four in Syria, three in Spain, two in Egypt, and one in Africa, the three legions lost by Varus in A.D. 9 never being replaced. But when war occurred, as it did in Agrippa's later years in Spain and Pannonia, legions were transferred from their usual quarters to the scene of hostilities. Considering the extent of frontier which had to be guarded, twenty-eight legions was not an excessive number ; but in Agrippa's system the Roman army did not consist solely of legionaries. The auxiliary troops played a very important part and in effective strength were almost equal to the legions themselves.

The *auxilia* served a triple purpose : they were useful in themselves, they lightened the burden of recruiting for the legions, and they gave the warlike peoples of the less advanced parts of the Empire an opportunity of showing their martial qualities. Moreover, a man had to be a Roman citizen if he wished to join the legions ; for the *auxilia* no such qualification was necessary. In itself this last

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condition proved how great was the difference between the senatorial and the imperial rule in the provinces. The Republic had regarded all countries outside Italy merely as sources of revenue ; the Empire showed the provincials, even those who were not Roman citizens, that the defence of the frontiers against barbarian attack was the common duty of every man, and also that the government had confidence in their loyalty. The auxiliary troops were normally raised in the imperial provinces, such as Gaul, Spain, and the Danubian districts, and usually served only in their own country, although this was not always the case. They were organized in infantry and cavalry regiments, *cohortes et alae*, and bore both numbers and the name of the district where they were originally enrolled, e.g. *cohors ii Rhaetorum*, *ala i Tungrorum*, *cohors vi Batavorum*. The men took service for twenty-five years, and at the end of their time received Roman citizenship for themselves and their family. Their commanders had the title of prefect, and in some cases were men of their own race who had been granted Roman citizenship, but more commonly were senior centurions transferred from the legions.

The whole army took the oath of allegiance to the head of the state in his double capacity of *princeps* and *imperator*. The legions were now commanded, not by military tribunes, but by imperial legates, senators appointed by the princeps and removable at his discretion. At the conclusion of a victorious campaign it was not the general in command but the princeps who was saluted by the troops as *imperator*.

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Agrippa himself had set the precedent when three times in his career he refused the honours of a triumph, and also when at the conclusion of his campaign against the Cantabrians in 19 B.C. he reported his success, not to the senate, but to Augustus in person. All grades in the army from top to bottom were now directly under the control of the princeps: he issued commissions and settled promotions, he alone could raise fresh levies, he paid the soldiers when they were with the eagles, he issued their formal discharge when their time was up, and gave them their gratuity in land or money. In fact, the army was completely subordinate to the state.

Last come the measures taken by Agrippa to make military service acceptable. As regards the ruling classes there was little option for them, since a period of service in the army was made a necessary qualification for a public career. If a young man desired eventually to become a senator he had to serve first, either as a tribune in the legions or as a prefect in the auxiliary cavalry. Not till then was he eligible to hold one of the minor magistracies which in time led to the senate. For other classes service in the army was also the easiest way to improve their position in the state. A capable soldier might reasonably hope to become a centurion, for in each legion there were now sixty subordinate officers of that rank. The chief centurion, *primus pilus*, was a very important person, more important than the most authoritative of sergeant-majors, and often had more influence with the men than their nominal commander. He, together with the other centurions of the first cohort and the senior

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centurions of the remaining nine, formed a group called *primi ordines*, whom it was usual for the legate to consult on all matters of importance. On retirement a senior centurion became a member of the equestrian class, and then many important posts were open to him. He might be appointed a prefect in the auxiliary forces, or a tribune in the praetorian and urban cohorts, or he might settle down in a town and hold municipal office, so that in the next generation it often happened that a centurion's son rose to the senate.

The rank and file, of course, had not these advantages; but army service was neither very hard nor very dangerous, and many legionaries went through their sixteen years without ever drawing their swords in battle. In the East discipline was notoriously slack. 'The soldiers, demoralized by long years of peace, were impatient of camp duty. There were veterans in the army who had never acted as sentry or guard, to whom the rampart and trench were new and strange sights, men who possessed neither helmet nor breastplate, sleek money-making fellows who had served all their time in towns.'¹ Their pay was adequate, and at the end of their service they received a gratuity of twelve thousand sesterces (£100), paid at first from the imperial treasury and after A.D. 6 from a special fund. Naturally there were grouzers in the Roman, as there are in every army, but their grievances were not very serious, as we see from the account given by Tacitus of a mutiny in Pannonia with which Tiberius had to deal.² They did not like the centurion's stick on their

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 35.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 13.

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backs. They wanted an increase of pay—‘Our bodies and souls are valued at fivepence a day,’ and they thought they were worth eightpence. They wanted better land allotments after their discharge—‘We are dragged off to the ends of the earth and given swampy marshes and barren hill-sides to cultivate.’ But above all they were jealous of the praetorian cohorts who lived at ease in Rome and drew more pay than their hard-working comrades on the frontiers.

The changes in the army which we have described were closely connected with the settlement of the Empire frontiers; and if we consider that Agrippa was chiefly responsible for dealing with the first problem, it is natural to conclude that he also took a large share in dealing with the second. In this connection one significant fact may be noted. Of all the frontiers the northern offered the greatest difficulty. In Agrippa’s lifetime the north-west of that frontier was settled on one method; very soon after his death Augustus with some reluctance adopted another, which in the last years of his life he abandoned again and went back to what was probably Agrippa’s original plan.

Under the Republic there was no question of fixing a frontier, for as long as there were fresh lands left to plunder the senate did not think it necessary. In Agrippa’s own lifetime Julius Caesar in the north-west had conquered Gaul and crossed over to Britain with an invading army, while in the south-east Antony had wasted his strength in trying to conquer Parthia. But after Actium the Romans were tired of war and conquest, and the time had come for the establishment of

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Pax Romana. As a matter of fact, in spite of the many wars in which they had fought both Agrippa and Augustus were men of peace. Augustus was never less happy than on the few occasions where he himself was engaged in a campaign. Agrippa was a great general, one of the very few who never knew defeat, but he had none of that desire for conquest and military renown which Alexander and Napoleon possessed. They thought that the Roman Empire was large enough as it stood, and they hoped with some reason that under a firm and just government the peoples of the Empire would live together in peace and harmony. But they were conscious of the danger threatened by the warlike barbarians outside, and it was to avert that danger that the new frontier and its defence were planned.

The Roman Empire in the time of Augustus included all the countries which border on the Mediterranean Sea. Its western frontier from the mouths of the Rhine to the Straits of Gibraltar was the Atlantic, or, as the ancients called it, the Outer Ocean : Britain was left to itself, and the benefits which our island received from Roman civilization are due to the Emperor Claudius. The southern frontier also was simple, for the Romans only occupied the northern coast of Africa to a depth of one or two hundred miles, and behind lay the sands of the desert. The wild tribes of the Gaetulians might make occasional raids, but Juba the client king of Mauretania, which extended some seven hundred miles eastwards from the straits, was strong enough to deal with them. The next

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eight hundred miles of coast formed the peaceful Roman province of Africa, where one legion was stationed, and then after the small province of Cyrene came Egypt, the private property of the princeps.

The eastern frontier was a more complicated problem, for across the Euphrates Rome was faced by the rival power of Parthia, and Augustus, like Alexander before him, had to champion Greek civilization against Oriental influences. After the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C., which destroyed the power of the Seleucid kings, the Roman senate left Asia to stew in its own juice for over a century; and during that time the Parthians, an Iranian people and followers of Zoroaster, established themselves as rulers of a large part of the old Persian empire. Until the death of Mithradates they were on friendly terms with Rome, but Pompey broke the treaty in 63 B.C., and ten years later Crassus led an army into their territory. At Carrhae the Romans were not only defeated but also lost their standards to the enemy, and the recovery of these standards became then a point of honour. Caesar was planning an expedition for that and some other purposes when he was murdered. Antony, as we have said, made another attempt, which also ended in disaster. But what force could not effect was finally achieved by diplomacy. Agrippa was put by Augustus in charge of the East for the ten years between 23 and 13 B.C., and he succeeded in coming to a friendly arrangement with the Parthian king, who in 20 B.C. gave the standards back, together with any of the Romans taken prisoners at Carrhae who were still alive.

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Horace might sing of 'our standards torn down from Parthian pillars,' and Augustus might write : 'I compelled the Parthians to restore to me the standards and spoils of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to beg the friendship of the Roman people' ; but the fact remains that the standards were returned under a peaceful agreement, which was of equal credit to Agrippa and Phraates. By this arrangement the Euphrates was fixed as the boundary line, and by it also the vexed question of Armenia was for a time settled in a manner satisfactory to both parties.

Armenia had been conquered by Pompey in 63 B.C. and made a vassal state of Rome under a native king. Geographically it is a continuation of the high plateau of Asia Minor, but its mountain ranges as they trend south-eastwards afford easy communication with Media and the Iranian plateau. Politically also its natural affinities were with the eastern rather than with the western world, for its people were of Iranian stock, followers of the same religion as the Parthians, and akin to them in military organization and in modes of life. It is a poor country, with a severe winter climate and hot parching summers, and it offered little inducement to Roman settlers and traders ; but as a buffer state between two empires it had much the same importance as Afghanistan has to-day. Rome might have annexed the whole land and made it a Roman province, but this would have meant a considerable strain on her military resources, which Agrippa was anxious to avoid. But while he did not wish to occupy Armenia himself, he did not wish to see Parthia in possession, and it

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seemed to him best to continue the vassal state system which Pompey had instituted, provided that Parthia would recognize Rome's predominant rights. To this Phraates also consented, and in 20 B.C. Rome's nominee, Tigranes, was crowned by Tiberius as king of Armenia.

On the northern frontier in its eastern half the Danube presented an obvious line. Rivers are not altogether satisfactory as a defence, for they are means of communication rather than dividing barriers, but the great stream from its delta on the Black Sea to Reginum (Ratisbon) on the northern border of the Rhaetian province served until Trajan's time as a convenient limit to Roman rule. At Reginum in later times the *Limes* began, a high wall of earth and stone with a moat in front, which ran westwards some two hundred miles almost as far as Mogontiacum (Mainz), on the Rhine, and formed a protection for the *Agri Decumates*, the triangle of country which is now Baden and Wurtemberg lying east of the Rhine and west of the Danube. The eastern section of the Danube frontier, however, in Agrippa's time was held very lightly; the dependent king of Thrace was responsible for the good conduct of his people, and the wild tribes in the district, which afterwards became the province of Moesia, were kept in order by the governor of Macedonia.

The real test of policy was the north-west frontier, and here Agrippa's plan, which remained in force until his death, was this. The delta of the Rhine was held by the Batavians, a people of German origin who had definitely come over to Rome and supplied a large

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number of men to the Roman army. The lower course of the Rhine was strongly held by four legions with headquarters at Vetera (Xanten); four more with headquarters at Mogontiacum watched Upper Germany. No soldiers were stationed in Gaul, and the legions on the Rhine served a double purpose; they guarded the frontier and they also prevented any danger of a Gallic disturbance. The Rhine was the frontier, but Agrippa's cardinal idea was to induce Germans to take up their home on the Roman side of the river and Gauls to settle on the German side; and to both Gauls and Germans he introduced the new religion of the divinity of Rome. For example, the German tribe of the Ubii at his invitation left their own territory and settled on the Roman side of the river in the district round what is now Cologne. The modern name comes from its later Roman designation *Colonia Agrippinensis*, but in Agrippa's time it was called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and in it was the temple of Rome and Augustus with the 'Altar of the Ubii' as a centre for the new worship. In the same way the Gauls who settled on the German side of the Rhine in the 'Tithe Lands' had their religious centre at what is now Rottweil, and in Vespasian's time offered sacrifice at the 'Flavian Altars.'

This was Agrippa's scheme, and if it had been continued it might have settled the age-long feud between German and Gaul. But in 12 B.C., directly after Agrippa's death, it was superseded by a more ambitious plan. The two stepsons of Augustus, Tiberius and Drusus, were Romans of the old type,

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eager for war and conquest. They had been blooded in 15 B.C., when Tiberius marching from Gaul and Drusus coming from Italy had defeated the Alpine tribes in a battle near the Lake of Constance. One result of their victory was the establishment of two new imperial provinces, Rhaetia and Noricum, and the foundation of Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) as an important military station. Another result was the encouragement it gave to a forward policy in Germany. Agrippa had fixed the Roman boundary at the Rhine, Drusus in 12 B.C. decided that the Elbe should take its place. For four years in a series of hard-fought campaigns he pressed on until in 9 B.C. he reached his goal; and then falling from his horse he broke his leg and in a month was dead. Tiberius took his place, and though the work was interrupted by his retirement to Rhodes, when he resumed the command in A.D. 4 it seemed as if all Germany west of the Elbe would soon be made a Roman province. But there was another check. Just when Tiberius was coming to grips in Bohemia with the German leader Maroboduus, a great revolt broke out in Pannonia which took him three years to subdue. The final disaster came in A.D. 9 when the German Arminius destroyed three Roman legions under Varus in the Teutoburgian Wood. At that Augustus gave up the plan of conquering Germany, and not only retired to the Rhine frontier, but laid it down as an instruction to his successors that no further extension of the Empire should be made.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOUSEHOLD OF AUGUSTUS

IN 21 B.C. his marriage with Julia brought Agrippa into even closer connection with Augustus than before, and we must attempt to give a picture of the household of which he now became a member by marriage, where Augustus was the *pater familias*. The Latin word *familia* has a much wider meaning than its nearest English equivalent, for it includes all those, high and low, free or slaves, who sit at the master's table, eat of his food, and are under his authority, while under the word *familiares* his intimate friends are also included. Our picture therefore, if it were complete, would include even the most humble of the slaves ; but for our purpose we must confine ourselves to the principals, and begin with Augustus himself.

Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus is an elusive person whose character has been a source of difficulty both to ancient and modern writers. Our chief ancient authorities are Tacitus and Suetonius, who lived in the first half of the second century A.D. when flattery of the Julian house had ceased to be profitable, and they are both content with a judicious mixture of praise and blame, which leaves the reader to infer for himself their final judgment. Tacitus



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Photo Andersen

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indeed professes to give only a summary of popular talk after his death and avoids expressing his own opinion, but as usual with him the darker side predominates. Men of sense, says the historian, varied between eulogy and censure. Some held that he had been forced into civil war by filial duty, and in civil war there is no room for high principles. To take vengeance on his father's murderers he had to make many concessions to Antony and Lepidus, and on their fall the only remedy for a distracted country was the rule of one man, which came not as a despotism or dictatorship but as a principate. The boundaries of the Empire were now the Ocean and distant rivers ; legions, provinces, and fleets were united under one control ; the capital was beautified ; law reigned in Rome, moderation in the provinces ; force was only used in a few cases, and then it was to ensure general peace. So much for the credit account : criticism, as reported by Tacitus, is more virulent. Filial duty was a pretext to disguise his lust for power. Were Hirtius and Pansa really killed in battle, or did he not poison the one and incite mutineers to murder the other? The army which he received to fight against Antony he used against the state, and the proscription lists were odious even to those who carried them out. Sextus Pompeius was trapped by a false treaty ; Lepidus, by a pretence of friendship ; Antony, beguiled into marriage with his sister, paid the penalty for that treacherous connection with his death. And even when peace came it was a peace stained with bloodshed.

All this does not take us very far in forming a judg-

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ment; and Suetonius, who is on the whole favourable, reports many acts of heartless cruelty. What are we to think of the man who when a captive begged humbly for burial replied, 'The birds will soon settle that question,' and when the citizens of Perusia asked his pardon gave but one answer to all, 'You must die'? He opposed the proscriptions on grounds of policy, but when they began he was far more ruthless than either of his colleagues, and even put his own guardian's name on the list. Once, while he was addressing the soldiers, he noticed a knight writing something down and ordered him to be killed on the spot. On another occasion a praetor approached him holding his tablets under his robe; suspecting that he was hiding a dagger he had him tortured, and tore out his eyes with his own hand.

Cruelty is often the result of fear, and these incidents occurred in his early life when he was surrounded by enemies and in constant danger of assassination. His career falls into three periods: the first lasting until the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., the second until the death of Agrippa in 12 B.C., the third until his own death in A.D. 14. His character, or at least his conduct, changed as he grew older and more secure, and in his later life there is little trace of the cowardice, the treachery, and the cruelty of which his enemies accused him in his youth. The change is curiously typified by the devices which he chose for the signet ring with which he sealed important documents. In the first period, when secrecy was essential to success and he had to keep his real purpose hidden, the figure was the

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Sphinx: like the Sphinx he kept men guessing, and like the Sphinx he destroyed those who failed to find the right answer. In the second period the Sphinx disappeared and its place was taken by the head of Alexander the Great whose tomb in Alexandria he visited after Actium; like Alexander he was now master of the world and could afford to be merciful, and he began to imitate the great Macedonian even in small tricks of personal behaviour. In the third period, when he grew senile and wrote the *Res Gestae*, he imagined, as old men will, that he alone was all-important and the ring bore his own effigy.

The same change may be seen, as Mrs Strong has shown,¹ in his portrait statues. The head in the Capitoline Museum gives us Octavian at the age of thirty, a man with high cheek-bones, nervously closed mouth, and severe scowling expression, the man whom the unfortunate Perusines had to face. The well-known statue of Prima Porta is Augustus, 20 B.C., a man whose eyes look steadily ahead, whose chin is small but without weakness, and whose mouth has all the Julian beauty of line, the man who regained for Rome the standards lost at Carrhae. Finally in the Terme statue we have him in old age, a man with bent shoulders, lined face, and slow gait, the man who beat his head against the wall and cried, 'Give back my legions, Varus.'

The personal details, which we so grievously lack in the case of Agrippa, Suetonius gives in abundance in his '*Life of the deified Augustus*.' He was unusually

¹ Eugénie Strong in *C. A. H.*, Vol. X, p. 558.

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handsome, with curly golden hair and straight Roman nose ; in stature he was somewhat under middle height but so well proportioned that he seemed taller. His expression was usually calm and serene, and on one occasion it so affected a would-be assassin that he abandoned his purpose. His eyes were particularly bright, and he was pleased when a man lowered his face before him as though unable to bear their radiance. Physically he was never very strong : his left leg was weak and sometimes gave him a slight limp ; his right hand was subject to cramp, and he suffered from eczema. More serious were the severe illnesses, caused by stone in the bladder and abscesses on the liver, which several times brought him near to death and gravely weakened his constitution. This weakness, however, was counteracted by the extreme care he took of his health. He never got up early in the morning, and in the winter wore a toga, four tunics, a shirt, a woollen chest-protector and woollen stockings, all woven by his own household. In summer he slept with the windows wide open near a fountain, took hot sea-water and sulphur baths, and was frequently massaged with oil. In diet also he was most abstemious, often satisfied with a slice of bread and some grapes or figs, and drinking wine very sparingly.

A dinner, therefore, in his modest house on the Palatine was apt to be a very simple affair, and his guests probably got less enjoyment from the meal itself than from the conversation at table and the actors and pantomimists who usually came in afterwards. Augustus was a lover of the theatre and some-

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thing of a wit as well. Here are three of his repartees. He began to write a tragedy on the death of Ajax, who fell upon his sword; but after a time he laid it aside. A friend asked him: 'How is the Ajax getting on?' 'Ajax has fallen upon the sponge,' he replied. On another occasion people came to him to complain of the scarcity and dearness of wine: 'My son-in-law, Agrippa,' he said, 'has seen to it that no one in Rome need go thirsty.' And when he was told that Herod of Judaea had put his heir to death he remarked: 'I would rather be Herod's pig than Herod's son.'

But although he was so abstemious in food and drink and so simple in his mode of life, he had a keen appetite for sexual pleasure, which he indulged without restraint and without remorse. Voltaire called him '*un monstre adroit et heureux*,' and in his dealings with women the description is fairly correct. He was married three times, but in each case political expediency guided his choice. His first wife was Clodia, Antony's step-daughter, whom Fulvia had by her first husband, the notorious Publius Clodius. Clodia was a pawn in the game against Antony, and when she ceased to be of value she was sent back to her mother, ostensibly still a virgin. His next wife was Scribonia, sister of Scribonius Libo, who was father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius. It was hoped that Scribonia would give some hold over the pirate chief, and when Octavian and Sextus became open enemies she was divorced on the very day that she gave birth to Julia, who was to be her husband's only child. The reason that Octavian gave was that he was disgusted with her 'wrong-

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headedness,' which seems to have consisted chiefly in her refusal to be friendly with the mistresses he brought in. His third union with Livia we shall consider later.

Marriage with the Romans was not a sacrament but a business partnership, into which husband and wife brought each their own property. It could be dissolved without any disgrace, and then both parties took out their share, the husband usually having charge of the children. Fidelity on the husband's part was not expected, and as long as a man confined himself to freedwomen and prostitutes he incurred no reproach. But Augustus went much further than this, and in the face of the laws which he introduced, he himself continually transgressed the conventional morality of his day by adulterous intercourse with Roman matrons, other men's wives. Even his best friends were not safe ; but resentment was dangerous, and the surest way to his favour was to become his pander.

It will be seen that Augustus was not what we call a good man. Nor was he a great man, although under his direction a great work was accomplished. But he had one very valuable asset, the tenacity of purpose which self-centred persons sometimes possess. He also had the good fortune to find two helpers, far his superiors in character and intellect, who were compelled, Agrippa by his birth, Livia by her sex, to occupy subordinate positions. Few men have ever had a better friend than Agrippa, a better wife than Livia : whether Augustus deserved his good fortune or was properly grateful is another question.

After the head of the family the next most important

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person in a Roman household was his wife ; and Livia was a perfect specimen of the best kind of Roman matron. She was born in 57 B.C. and lived to the good old age of eighty-six, dying A.D. 29 in the reign of her son Tiberius. Her father, M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, was by birth a Claudian, proudest of all Roman families, who by adoption passed into the Gens Livia, almost equally illustrious in history, but never forgot his great ancestor, Appius Caecus the censor. Her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was also descended from Appius Caecus by another son, and had been one of Caesar's best officers. He remained, however, a staunch Republican, and after Caesar's death voted against an amnesty and proposed that the tyrannicides should be rewarded. Antony and Octavian regarded him as a dangerous enemy, and his name appeared on the proscription lists ; but after vainly attempting to raise a revolt among the slaves in Campania, he made his escape in 40 B.C. to Sicily and took refuge with Sextus Pompeius. His wife, then a girl of seventeen, accompanied him on his hazardous flight, carrying in her arms her infant son Tiberius, who twice by crying out at critical moments almost betrayed them. When an amnesty was declared in 38 B.C. Livia and her husband returned to Rome, and then it is usually said that Octavian fell violently in love with her. This may have been so, and in that case he would not have been able to get possession of her person by the methods which he used when later he gained supreme power. But it is far more probable that the motives which influenced Octavian, Livia, and

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Tiberius were of the same kind as those which brought about the marriage between Napoleon and Marie Louise. Octavian in 38 B.C. was plainly the coming man ; but he was also more or less of an upstart, and a marriage with Livia would connect him with the old families. Tiberius, for his part, felt the advantage that he and his fellow aristocrats would gain by an alliance with the new master ; and Livia, beautiful, young, and ambitious, saw unlimited opportunities opening out before her. Tiberius consented not only to divorce his wife, but to give her a dowry and abandon the guardianship of his young son. One difficulty still remained. Livia was pregnant, and it was doubtful if a woman in the condition could properly be divorced and remarried. But the college of priests, when consulted, gave their approval, and on January 17th, 38 B.C., three days after the birth of a second son, Drusus, the marriage took place.

Livia was a wise and virtuous woman, and her influence on Augustus, and through him on the government of the Roman world, was entirely for good. We do not hear much of her in the first years of their marriage, but after Actium her opinion on all domestic matters usually carried the day, and in the last period, when Agrippa and Maecenas were both dead, she was almost the only person in whom her husband could confide. There is a story that when someone asked her how she had gained such influence over Augustus she replied : ‘ By being scrupulously chaste, cheerfully doing what he wished, never meddling with his affairs, and pretending to know nothing of the women with

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whom he had affairs.' The first and last statements are certainly true, the other two require interpretation : Augustus usually wished what Livia wished, and though Livia never meddled her advice was generally asked and taken. It is significant that when Augustus was going into conference with his wife he carefully wrote down beforehand all the arguments which he meant to use ; Livia apparently did not find such preparation necessary.

If we may believe Seneca, it was Livia who suggested the change of policy which gave Augustus his later reputation for clemency. In 23 B.C., Seneca says,¹ when Augustus was in Gaul he discovered that Lucius Cinna, grandson of Pompey, had formed a plot against him and intended to stab him from behind as he was sacrificing at the altar. The news caused him acute alarm, he summoned a council of his friends, they advised Cinna's immediate execution, and he was at first inclined to agree. But in the night he was tormented by doubts, for these attempts on his life were becoming frequent, and in the morning he asked Livia's advice. 'Do as doctors are wont to do,' she replied ; 'when the usual remedies fail they try their opposites. In your case severity has proved useless, now try clemency. Give Cinna his pardon ; he has been caught ; he cannot harm you, but he can help your reputation.'

But in spite of her sagacity—the Emperor Gaius called his great-grandmother an Ulysses in petticoats—

¹ Seneca, *De Clementia*, I, 9. Dio, whose chronology is often confused, puts Cinna's conspiracy in A.D. 4-

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Livia on one occasion put through a plan which eventually ruined both her son's and her husband's happiness. When Agrippa died in 12 B.C. she rightly thought that her elder son Tiberius was marked out to take Agrippa's place and afterwards succeed to the principate. Tiberius was not at that time the embittered exile of his middle life or the moody recluse of his latter years; he was a gallant young soldier, devoted to his duty, devoted to his wife Vipsania Agrippina, Agrippa's daughter, and above all devoted to his mother. Relying on his filial obedience and wishing to secure his position Livia arranged for him to divorce Agrippina and marry Julia. Augustus agreed, although he never liked Tiberius, Julia was very willing, and Tiberius sacrificed himself and spoilt his life. The marriage was an error of judgment on the part of all concerned, and Livia may fairly be held responsible for the disasters which followed from it; but as for the dark hints of crime which Tacitus continually makes, they rest upon the malicious inventions of Julia and her descendants, and are rightly disregarded by serious historians.

Livia was only one of a group of virtuous wives connected by birth or marriage with Augustus, women who kept house and saw to it that their servants carded the fleeces, spun the wool, wove the cloth, and made the garments of the whole household. The oldest of them was Octavia, sister of the princeps, a model of conjugal fidelity, who after Antony's desertion and death brought up his twelve children and gave them all a mother's care. Of her own five her only son, the

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young Marcellus, Julia's first husband, had died in 23 B.C. and so frustrated Augustus' plan to keep the succession in his own family. But her four daughters were all happily married, the younger Marcella to Agrippa until he was compelled to divorce her in order to marry Julia, the younger Antonia to Livia's younger son Drusus, this last pair being a shining example of married felicity.

But in the house on the Palatine, as in Roman society and in Roman literature at this time, there were three parties. Livia, Agrippa, and Tiberius did their best to maintain the old tradition of simple living and strict discipline which had made Rome great, and they had the support of such writers as Virgil while he lived, of Livy—the little Republican as Augustus called him—and of the scholar Verrius Flaccus, who at Livia's suggestion was appointed tutor to Agrippa's two sons. Augustus was prepared to pay lip-service to their code and enforce morality, so long as he was allowed to break the statutes which he made for others, and Horace was of the same opinion: in his official odes he urged his fellow citizens to marry and have children, but remained himself a self-indulgent bachelor, and greatly preferred the society of Syrian dancing girls to that of the Sabine mothers whose praise he sung.

There was, however, a third party, much more in harmony with the spirit of the age, who made enjoyment their one aim in life and regarded Augustus as an old hypocrite and Livia as a tiresome spoil-sport. They were the post-war generation, born amid the feverish excitement of the civil wars, and they had

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Julia as their leader, Ovid, who remembered the date of his birth as being the year when both consuls were killed, as their favourite poet. The *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria* give us a lively picture of these bright young things, '*cultae puellae*,' as Ovid calls them, and of their men friends, and the portrait of his imaginary mistress Corinna¹ is possibly drawn from Julia herself. While Livia sat quietly indoors dressed in homespun, Julia flaunted abroad in transparent silk, and with her train of gallants went from the arcades to the baths, from the perfumer's shop to the theatre, and from the wild beast shows to the chariot races in the circus, a pleasing sight to those who admired young beauty richly adorned, but to her stepmother a scandal and constant source of offence.

To his daughter Augustus was always inclined to be indulgent, for he recognized his own nature in her; and if he ever ventured on a reproof Julia always had an answer ready. When he complained of the young men who crowded round her at the theatre she replied: 'But these young men will grow old along with me.' When he criticized her silk robes she appeared the next day in homespun, and said with a smile: 'To-day I am dressed to please my father, yesterday I thought to please my husband.' Sometimes even she carried the war into the enemy's camp, as when she said: 'My father forgets that he is Caesar, I cannot forget that I am Caesar's daughter.' It is probable that at first she was only frivolous and extravagant; and after all she bore Agrippa four children in seven years. But

¹ *Kopirva* is hybrid Greek for *puella*, and metrically its equivalent.

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the adulation she received from the Greeks during her stay in the East turned her head, and after her return to Rome in 13 B.C., she conceived the idea that she stood above all laws and could with impunity gratify every whim. Her first lover seems to have been Sempronius Gracchus, whom she took before Agrippa died ; but when her marriage with Tiberius proved a failure she became promiscuous in her amours. Tiberius, unable or unwilling to prove his wife's adultery, retired in sullen indignation to Rhodes, and at last in 2 B.C. Livia determined to avenge her son's dishonour.

First it was necessary to get evidence, and though Julia's conduct was notorious, no one desired to bring an accusation against the daughter of the princeps. By some means, we know not how, Livia forced one of Julia's servants, a woman called Phoebe, to betray her mistress, and when she had proof she called a council of her friends, and Augustus was informed. By the law *de adulteriis*, which he had passed sixteen years previously, if a wife was guilty of adultery it became the duty of her husband to divorce her and then to accuse her of a criminal offence. If he did not act her father must take his place ; if the father failed it was open for any citizen to bring the woman into court. In Julia's case her husband Tiberius had been for four years living in retirement at Rhodes, and Augustus was faced by the alternative of acting himself or leaving the prosecution to a common informer. In a passion of grief and resentment he decided on the first course, and after sending Julia her divorce in the name of

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Tiberius he banished her to the lonely island of Pandataria. Of her lovers Iulus Antonius, the son of the Triumvir, committed suicide; the others, a numerous company of whom Sempronius Gracchus, Appius Claudius, and Quintus Crispinus were the most notable, were deprived of all their property and sent into exile. When all was over Phoebe hanged herself, and Augustus in his bitterness cried that he wished he was Phoebe's father.

We may now turn from the kinsfolk of Augustus and consider the friends of his household, such men as Pollio, Varius, Plancus, Dellius, and Sallustius Crispus, names familiar to readers of Horace's *Odes*. Many of them in the past had fought against Octavian, but when he became Augustus they had come over to his side. They formed a new class in the Roman political system, 'friends of Caesar,' and had far more influence on affairs than the consuls and praetors who were still elected. Augustus would consult them, as a kind of Privy Council, when he thought necessary, and the most important among them was a dark, subtle, long-nosed Etruscan knight named Maecenas.

C. Cilnius Maecenas was descended, or so his literary protégés declared, from the old kings of Etruria. He was born about 70 B.C., and was already a rich man when he decided to throw in his lot with the young Octavian. In the decade 40-30 B.C. he acted as his chief diplomatic agent, and was largely responsible for the Treaty of Brundisium with Antony in 40 B.C., the Treaty of Misenum with Sextus Pompeius in 39 B.C., and the Treaty of Tarentum with Antony

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in 37 B.C., while he also arranged Octavian's two first marriages with Clodia and Scribonia. At the crisis of the conflict between Sextus and Octavian in 36 B.C., he took charge of affairs in Rome and succeeded in checking what might have been a serious disturbance there, and five years later in the critical period before Actium he again was left in sole control of the capital.

But in addition to the help which he gave Octavian as diplomat and administrator he was in this period invaluable as minister of propaganda and publicity agent. During the civil wars leaflets were his weapons, and they often proved more effective than swords. His agents would make their way disguised into the enemy camp and distribute handbills praising Octavian and promising higher pay in his service; and frequently, as happened to Lepidus, a general would find himself deserted by his men before a blow had been struck. It is difficult, too, to overestimate the services rendered to the new régime by the poets who wrote under his patronage and at his direction. In the struggle against Antony it was essential that Octavian should have the people behind him, and Virgil and Horace did their full share in fixing in men's minds the idea that the welfare and the very existence of Rome depended upon Caesar. After Actium his importance decreased, and from playing the part of a Talleyrand he sank to the rôle of a Fouché. His agents, instead of sowing discord among the enemy, were chiefly occupied with discovering and thwarting the plots which were constantly being made against Augustus. The first had the younger Lepidus for its leader in the year of Actium;

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then in 26 B.C. came the affair of Cornelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt ; and this was followed by the conspiracies of Cinna, Egnatius, Caepio, and Murena. This last in the year 23 B.C. was apparently the cause of the first breach with Augustus, who resented the fact that Terentia, wife of Maecenas and sister of Murena, was informed by her husband of the plot. After that year Maecenas gave up most of his former activities and retired to the luxurious ease of his mansion on the Esquiline, where he died in 8 B.C. As Tacitus says : ¹ 'So rarely is it the destiny of power to be lasting ; perhaps a sense of satiety steals over princes when they have bestowed everything, and over favourites when there is nothing left for them to desire.'

Of his character we have a brief sketch by the historian Velleius Paterculus : 'He was sleeplessly alert and prompt to act in a crisis ; but when he could relax from affairs he carried luxurious idleness beyond the point of effeminacy.' Fuller details are given by Seneca, who, perhaps because of his own position under Nero, seems to have taken a special interest in him. Seneca quotes some of his verses : ²

Nec tumultum curo; sepelit natura relictos.

'I want no tomb, for Nature doth provide
For outcasts burial.'

and makes this comment : ³ 'You would imagine this was said by a man of strict morals ; and indeed Maecenas was a man of strong and virile intelligence,

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 30.

² Seneca, *Epistles*.

³ Seneca, *Epistles*, 92.

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but in prosperity he impaired his powers by loose indulgence.' Upon another line the criticism is more severe :¹

feminae crispo cinnat et labris columbatur.

'See how he curls his lady locks and turtles with his lips.'

'Can you not see,' says the philosopher, 'directly you read these words that this was the man who walked abroad in Rome in a loose tunic? Even though he was acting for the Emperor, he would appear in undress when he gave the soldiers the watchword for the day. This was the man who as a judge on the bench or an orator at public meetings presented himself with his cloak over his head and his ears sticking out like a runaway slave in a farce. This was the man who amid the din of civil war, when all Rome was waiting under arms, appeared in public attended only by two eunuchs, both of them more of men than their master. This was the man who had but one wife, and yet took her a thousand times anew to his bed.'

The last sentence refers to Terentia, of whom, under the name of Licymnia, Horace sung :²

' My Muse would rather have me tell
Of fair Licymnia's tuneful art,
And sing her softly gleaming eyes,
Her faithful heart.

Would all the gold of Persia buy
One lock of your Licymnia's hair,
Would all the treasure of the East
With that compare.

¹ Seneca, *Epistles*, 114.

² Horace, *Odes*, II, 12.

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When from your lips her neck she turns
In mock severity, and tries
To hide the longing that she feels
Herself to snatch the prize?'

But when Horace speaks of Terentia's 'faithful heart' he is using poetic licence. Terentia was a woman of the same type as Julia, and either could not or would not be faithful to one man. Augustus found her an easy conquest, and Maecenas was forced, very much against his will, into the position of a complaisant husband. Unfortunately for him he was not like most men of his time; he still loved his wife passionately, and he took things hard. Pliny tells us that for three years he never had any natural sleep, and Seneca gives us a picture of his sufferings: ¹ 'Do you think that Maecenas was more happy than Regulus? Tormented by love and weeping over the refusals which every day he had to endure at his wife's caprice, he could only win sleep by the help of music sounding gently in the distance. Though he might drug himself with wine and try to cheat his pain by the splash of fountains, he was as wakeful on his feather bed as Regulus on his cross. Enervated by pleasure and overburdened by excess of fortune he found the reason of his suffering a greater torment than the suffering itself.' He probably had little sympathy, for the Romans had no pity for weakness, and thought that if a man could not bear his troubles he should commit suicide. But that was what Maecenas could not do. Like most Etruscans he shuddered at

¹ Seneca, *Epistles*, 101.

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the thought of death, and in four lines he expresses his feelings : ¹

debilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa;
tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes;
vita dum superest, bene est: hanc mihi, vel acuta
si sedeam cruce, sustine.

‘Grant I am maimed in hands and legs and feet,
Grant that my back is humped, my slaving teeth
have gone,
Yet still I live, and still I find life sweet.
Set me upon the cross, and I will linger on.’

Between such a man as this and Agrippa there was little in common, and we hear of one or two incidents which suggest that Maecenas was unfriendly. The first is reported by the elder Seneca, who says that a certain *Latro* was arguing the impropriety of the adoption of an illegitimate child of low birth, and that Maecenas maliciously called attention to his speech just when Augustus was thinking of adopting Agrippa’s two sons. The second reveals definite hostility. Augustus had almost decided to give his daughter Julia in marriage to Agrippa, but before making the announcement he asked Maecenas his opinion. ‘You have raised him so high,’ replied the Etruscan, ‘that for your own safety you must either make him your son-in-law or put him to death.’

So we come at last to Agrippa himself. Concerning his private life we have no anecdotes, and the only saying of his recorded is an expression of the debt he owed to a proverb—‘By union small things become

¹ Seneca, *Epistles*, 101.

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great, by division the greatest fall to pieces.' As to his personal appearance, however, we have abundant evidence in the coins which were struck during his lifetime and after his death, and in the many busts and statues which the likeness on the coins enables us to identify. We see him, as we see Augustus, in three stages of life, in early manhood, middle age, and the beginnings of old age. The head found in 1929 near the theatre of Butrinto (Buthrotum), together with a statue of Augustus, gives us a clear idea of him in his first period. We find there his chief permanent characteristics, the sunken eyes, the long straight eyebrows almost meeting, the thin but well-formed lips, and the strong line of the jaw. As a modern critic says, few portraits reveal so well as this his nature, at once prudent and keen, generous and incorruptible, full of artistic feeling and yet not without a touch of ascetism. In this bust, as in many of the coins, there is a strong similarity between Augustus and Agrippa, the difference lying chiefly in the mouth. Agrippa's lips are thin and firm, those of Augustus are full and voluptuous. In both men the forehead is broad, but Agrippa's is slightly the higher. Augustus has the better nose, aquiline and perfectly shaped; in Agrippa the nostrils are slightly too large and the tip of the nose is somewhat blunt. Augustus is the more handsome, Agrippa has the nobler face.

The magnificent bust ¹ now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence gives us the man in early middle life. There is in the face a certain noble simplicity which explains

¹ See Frontispiece.

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Pliny's words *rusticitati propior quam deliciis* ; but the strong chin, the firm lips, the lines about the mouth, and the steadfast thoughtful eyes, all indicate those reserves of strength and will-power which made Agrippa the man for every emergency, 'unconquered by hardship, loss of sleep, or danger ; skilled in obedience, but obedient to one man alone, eager for command over others ; in all things admitting no delay but making action coincident with plans.' ¹

But probably the best likeness of all is to be found in the effigy on the commemorative bronze coins issued after his death, of which there are several specimens in the British Museum, a wonderful piece of portraiture which shows Agrippa in his last phase. The features have sharpened and hardened, the chin is more pointed, the nose thinner, and the lips more closely compressed. There is a severity and almost a grimness about the face, the *torvitas* which Pliny mentions, and we see how it was that the mere news of his arrival frightened the Pannonians at once into submission. 'As one studies that lowering bull-front, those enormous brows "oppressive with the mind" from under which a pair of steady eyes look out upon the work to do, one has the impression of a power of endurance almost more than human : and the impression is well grounded, for Agrippa was one of the master toilers of the world.' ²

Agrippa was married three times and had six children, three sons and three daughters. His first wife was Caecilia Attica, daughter of the wealthy banker Atticus.

¹ Velleius Paterculus, 2, 79.

² W. T. Arnold, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 164.

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By her he had one daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, who married Tiberius and bore him a son, Drusus, afterwards poisoned at the instigation of Sejanus. This marriage took place in 37 B.C., and nine years later Agrippa married Marcella, daughter of Octavia and niece of Augustus. Whether Caecilia was dead at that time or was divorced by Agrippa is uncertain; but there is a story in Suetonius¹ that her former tutor, Caecilius Epirota, was suspected of intimacy with her, and being sentenced to exile took refuge in Egypt with Gallus, who protected him in spite of his conduct. The union with Marcella lasted for seven years, but it is doubtful if there were any children; and in 21 B.C. with Octavia's approval Agrippa divorced Marcella to marry Julia, and eventually provide Augustus with what he most desired, two male heirs of his own blood.

Although Agrippa was essentially a man of action, he had many other interests. We have spoken of his architectural and engineering work, and he was also an art collector, buying not so much for his own gratification as for the enjoyment of the people. Among his purchases were the 'Dying Lion' of Lysippus and the 'Athlete with the Strigil,' which he placed before the Bath Palace; and he publicly advocated the obligation laid upon rich men to make all the great works of art which they possessed public property. This speech, '*oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna*,' was extant in Pliny's time, as also was the autobiography which would be so valuable if it had come down to us. His chief literary work, however, was the 'Geographical

¹ Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 16.

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Commentary' which he wrote to explain the map of the world prepared under his direction. The 'Commentary' now exists only in the few fragments which have been identified as quotations made from it by Pliny, but it was plainly also used by Strabo for material. Based also upon it are the geographical survey of Orosius and the two treatises, 'Dimensuratio Provinciarum' and 'Divisio Orbis Terrarum,' which were used by the Irish monk Dicuil in A.D. 825 in his 'De Mensura Orbis Terrarum.'

CHAPTER IX

GAUL AND SPAIN

IT is generally recognized that the Romanization of Gaul and Spain in the first century of our era was one of the great benefits which the Empire conferred on the world. But people do not always realize how decisive was the part Agrippa played in starting that process. During the five years between 20 and 16 B.C. he spent a large proportion of his time in those two countries, although he also paid frequent visits to Rome, and into those five years again he crowded an amount of work which most men would have thought sufficient for a lifetime. In Gaul he designed and began the construction of the Roman roads which in their modern form are one of the glories of France; he built at Nîmes the most graceful of Roman temples now standing, and the most impressive of Roman aqueducts; he travelled to the northern frontier and supervised the defensive line he had established from the Lake of Constance to the mouths of the Rhine; and by bringing the German tribe of the Ubii across the river and settling them in Gaul he pointed out the way to a possible fusion of the two nations. In Spain his task was more difficult and dangerous, but he performed it with equal efficiency: the making of roads, the planning of cities, and the organization of municipal

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life which he had started in Gaul he started again in the peninsula. But before that he had to conquer the tribes in the north-west who for two centuries had defied the power of Rome. His campaign against the Cantabrians ended in their complete subjugation, and then he proceeded with the work in which he was really interested, the creation of a durable social state.

Agrippa's work in Gaul falls into two divisions; what he did in Gallia Narbonensis, and what he did in that much larger part of Gaul which Caesar won for Rome in the eight years of his command. The lands which he conquered were divided by Caesar in 50 B.C. into three provinces, Belgica, Celtica, and Aquitania. But when in 27 the whole country was surveyed by Agrippa¹ for the census important changes were made. Aquitania was enlarged, its northern frontier being carried from the Garonne to the Loire, and the territory of the great tribe of the Arveni (Auvergne) added to it. Belgica also received the three tribes of the Lingones, the Sequani, and the Helvetii (North and West Switzerland) which had been part of Celtica, and Celtica itself changed its name to Lugdunensis with the new Roman colony of Lugdunum (Lyons) as its capital city. The tribal divisions of the Gauls in all three provinces were kept, and when in 12 B.C. the whole organization was complete each of their sixty tribes sent a representative to the Council of the Three Gauls held at Lugdunum, and offered sacrifice at the 'Altar of Augustus.' Only two other Roman colonies besides Lugdunum were established,

¹ See Chapter VII, pp. 165-167.

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both of them in Belgica, Noviodunum (Nyon) and Colonia Augusta (Augst) near Basle, and north Gaul was left on a tribal basis.

But although the tribal system remained, the social life of Gaul was completely changed by the new roads which Agrippa made radiating from Lyons, for the Gauls began at once to abandon their hill-top settlements and to establish themselves in towns on the new lines of communication. A passage in Strabo's description of Gaul gives the most important details : ¹

‘Lugdunum is in the centre of this country, an acropolis as it were, not only because the rivers meet there but also because it is near all parts. It was on this account that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads—that which passes through the Cemmenus mountains as far as the Gantoni and Aquitania, and that which leads to the Rhenus, and a third which leads to the Ocean passing near the Bellovaci and the Ambiani; and there is a fourth which leads to Narbonitis and the Massilian sea board.’

These were the four trunk roads, the first going across the central plateau of France to Limoges, Saintes, and the Atlantic, the second by way of Châlon, Langres, and Metz to the Rhine; the third passed through Autun, Sens, and Beauvais and ended at Boulogne, the fourth followed the Rhône downwards to its mouths, and there joined the great coast road which led from Italy into Spain. Besides these four, however, in the course of time a very large number of branch roads were constructed in connection with them, and if we may trust the ‘Antonine Itinerary’

¹ Strabo, 4, 6, 11.

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Gaul in the fourth century A.D. had twenty-five thousand miles of Roman roads, of which over eight thousand were main routes. It would be instructive, but perhaps tedious, to give the Latin names of the towns to which these roads afforded easy access, but in modern times they have usually shed their Latin titles and reveal their Gallic tribal origin. Lutetia, urbs Parisiorum, is now Paris; Durocortorum, the town of the Remi, is now Rheims; Avaricum, the town of the Bituriges, is Bourges; and Samarobriva, the town of the Ambiani, is Amiens. A French writer,¹ however, has drawn up a list which shows that there is scarcely one town in France of any importance which does not stand on one of these roads.

Of all this network Lugdunum was the centre, and to the new city at the junction of the Saône and the Rhône there also came down the carriage roads, made somewhat later across the Alps from Italy, one by the St Bernard passes, the other across Mont Genève. In addition to these land routes it had also the advantage of a waterway to the north by the slow-flowing Saône and thence by portage to the upper reaches of the Seine, while the swifter Rhône gave access to the Mediterranean. From Lugdunum the province was governed, and in it were all the offices of the administration. The imperial governor had his residence there, as well as the two imperial procurators, one of them in charge of the finances, the other receiver general of the import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. levied alike in the three Gauls and in Narbonensis. Lugdunum

¹ P. Louis, *Rome at Work* (Kegan Paul, London), p. 309.

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alone in northern Gaul possessed the Italian citizen rights ; she alone in western Europe had a mint which issued gold and silver coins ; she alone had an urban cohort of military police, the thirteenth, numbered directly after the nine praetorian and the three urban cohorts stationed at Rome : and these twelve hundred men were the sole armed force which after Agrippa's time Rome thought it necessary to maintain in Gaul.

Lugdunum, the gateway between north and south Gaul, was not only the centre of Roman civil administration ; she was also the centre of what was equally important in Agrippa's scheme for the Romanization of Gaul, the new religion which was to supersede the barbaric ritual of the Druids, the worship of Rome and Augustus. On the tongue of land at the confluence of the two rivers, in front of the hill where the new city stood, a temple was built and a magnificent altar, the 'Ara Augusti,' with the names of the sixty Gallic tribes and their emblematic images carved upon it, the high priest of the temple being elected each year by the Gallic council at its annual meeting. The first celebration did not take place until the year of Agrippa's death, 12 B.C., but the initial idea was probably his, for we find it repeated in Spain during his command there, and he was certainly responsible for the construction of a similar temple at Nîmes.

In the three new provinces Agrippa had to create a new organization, but in Gallia Narbonensis the case was different. The Romans had been in 'The Province' since 120 B.C. ; the country, a land of wine and oil like their own Italy, was already full of Roman citizens

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who had come there to trade and to invest money, and its social life was definitely urban. Massilia (Marseilles), the Greek city founded by the Phocaeans about A.D. 600, was a federate state in alliance with Rome, and until the establishment of the Roman colony at Narbo (Narbonne) in 118 B.C. it had controlled most of the trade between Italy and southern Gaul. In the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, however, it took the wrong side, and Caesar confiscated most of its territory and gave it to the new Roman townships of Forum Juliense (Fréjus), Aquae Sextiae (Aix), Arelate Sextanorum (Arles) colonized by veterans of the sixth legion, Arausio Secundanorum (Orange) colonized by veterans of the second legion, Avenio (Avignon), and Nemausus (Nîmes). The whole province was studded with flourishing towns, six of them colonies with full Roman rights, Arles, Orange, Beziers, Narbonne, Valence, and Fréjus, while the rest had the Latin citizenship, so that Pliny could say of Narbonensis some years later : ¹ 'In fertility of soil, in abundance of wealth, and in high standard of life it is equal to any province ; it is indeed not a province but Italy.'

In Agrippa's time the province included Languedoc, part of Savoy, a small portion of Switzerland and all the modern Provence. The Alps were its eastern, the Mediterranean its southern frontier ; to the north the upper Rhône from Lyons to the Lake of Geneva was the boundary, on the west the line followed the Cevennes to the Garonne, and then turned south with the river to the foothills of the

¹ Pliny, *N.H.*, 3, 31.

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Pyrenees. Until Agrippa's time Narbonne and Arles were the most important towns, Arles having taken over the most of the trade that had once been the monopoly of Marseilles ; but Agrippa seems to have intended to make Nîmes the chief city of the province. Of it Strabo writes : 'The metropolis of the Arecomisci is Nemausus which falls short of Narbo in its throng of foreigners and merchants but surpasses it in number of citizens who have Latin rights ; and anyone who has been aedile or quaestor at Nemausus is *ipso facto* a Roman citizen.' Nîmes never reached the prominence which Agrippa apparently designed for it, but the buildings which he presented to the town still remain, and to lovers of antiquity they render Nîmes the most interesting town in France.

In Nîmes itself we have the Maison Carrée, the Arena, the Baths, and the Nymphaeum still standing as memorials of Agrippa. The Maison Carrée—'Square House' is both unromantic and incorrect—is the name usually given to the small rectangular temple which Agrippa began in 20 B.C. and dedicated, probably to the worship of Rome and Augustus, in 16 on his return journey to Italy. It is seventy-six feet long and forty feet wide ; its walls of white stone are two feet thick ; and it has thirty fluted Corinthian columns, twenty set in the walls, ten supporting the portico, six in front and two at each side. It was once thought that it was dedicated to Agrippa's two sons, Gaius and Lucius ; but a French scholar has shown that the original inscription on the portico ran as follows : 'M. Agrippa

¹ Strabo, 4, 1, 12.

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L.F. Cos. III. Imp. Tribun. Potest. III. Col. Aug. Nem. Dat.' 'Given to the township of Augusta Nemausus by Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, imperator, in his third consulship and the third year of his tribunician power.' As for the temple itself, its graceful charm is so well reproduced in photographs that a description is hardly necessary. It stands in the same relation to most Roman buildings as Ovid's 'Lover's Handbook' stands to most Roman poetry; it is light, pleasing, and elegant; 'le sourire d'une personne habituellement sérieuse.'

The Arena, still in good state but much restored, is considerably larger than the temple but not so charming. A Colosseum on a small scale, it held seventeen thousand people, and is still used, like the arena at Arles, for innocuous bullfights. Its height from the exterior is seventy feet, in two stories and an attic, with sixty arches on the ground level, all of the same size except four larger entrances at the four points of the compass. Built in the usual massive Roman style, the stones of the upper seats are twelve feet long and two feet wide, and of the original thirty rows seventeen remain intact.

On a hot day it is very pleasant to leave the stony expanse of the Arena for the cool shade of the public gardens, where the foundation stones of Agrippa's baths can still be seen. The fountain also, of which Ausonius sung, still gushes from the rocks at the foot of Mount Cavalier; and close by is the building sometimes called the Nymphaeum, and sometimes the Temple of Diana, which was probably once the

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central hall of the baths. Its walls are of huge stones fixed without cement, and sixteen columns supported a cornice on which the dome roof rested. In A.D. 991 it became a convent and so remained for nearly six hundred years, but in 1577 when Nîmes was besieged the townsmen destroyed large portions of the building to prevent the enemy occupying it.

But the most wonderful of the gifts which Agrippa made to Nemausus is to be seen not in Nîmes but in the open country some ten miles away. Through a lonely valley the river Gardon slowly makes its way to join the Rhône; suddenly the valley grows wider and deeper, and before you stands the Pont du Gard. Three tiers of arches span the ravine, six in the lowest row, eleven in the second, and thirty-five in the third one hundred and fifty feet high, carrying the conduit which brought water from the springs close by to supply the baths in the town. The arch in the lowest row through which the main stream passes is eighty feet wide, four of the others are sixty feet, the sixth is fifty feet. In the second row the arches correspond in width with the first, but in the third row there are thirty-five arches, four over the main arch, three over each of the others. In this top row one pier is always just above the pier below, the piers being made narrower or broader to suit the difference in width of the lower arches. This subtle variation is one of the aqueduct's most striking features, as our standard history of architecture notices: ¹ 'Without the introduction of one single ornament or of any member that

¹ J. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*.

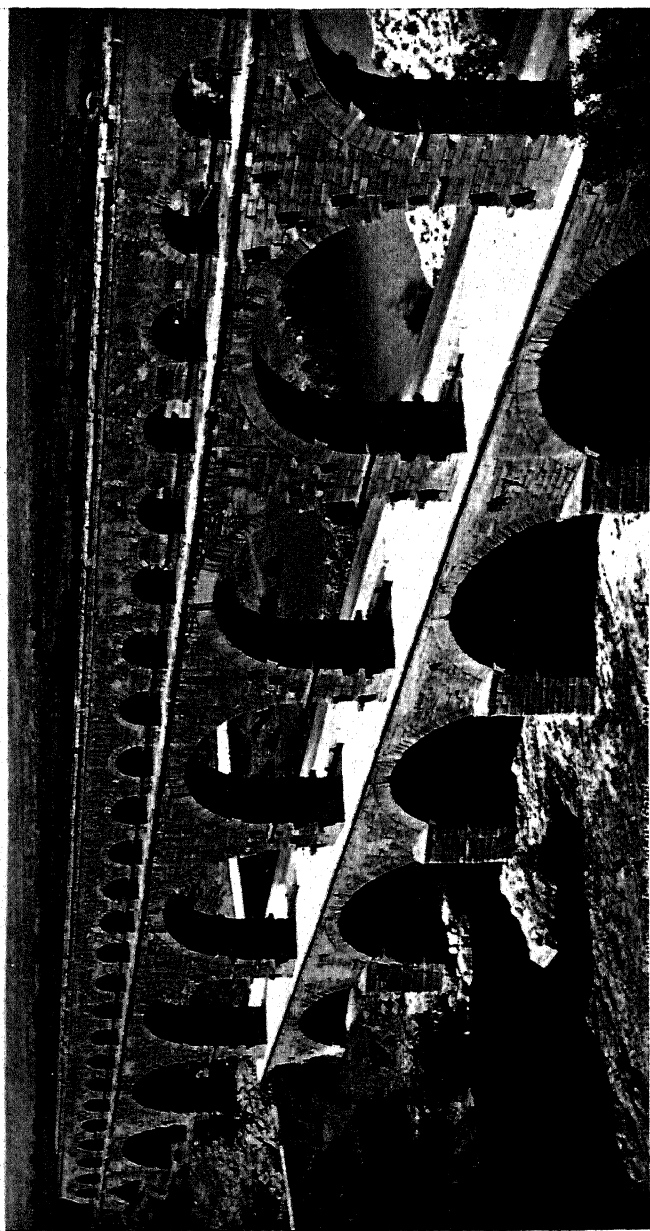


Photo Neurdein

THE PONT DU GARD

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was not absolutely wanted, this arrangement converts what is a mere utilitarian work into an architectural screen of a beauty hitherto unrivalled in its class.'

If one has not seen the Pont du Gard it is difficult to realize its grandeur, and perhaps it will be best to give the impression which it made on two great artists in words, one a Frenchman of the eighteenth, the other an American of the nineteenth century. Here is Rousseau :¹

'It was the first Roman building I had seen, and I expected a monument worthy of the hands which had built it. For once—and this once only in my life—reality surpassed expectation. The Romans alone knew how to produce an effect like this. . . . I went along the three tiers of the glorious edifice, almost ashamed to tread it beneath my feet. The echo of my steps made me fancy that I heard the strong voices of the men who built it. I was lost like an insect in its immensity. But with the sense of my own littleness I felt something which lifted up my heart and with a sigh I murmured "Why was I not born a Roman." I came back in a state of dreamy abstraction, which did not at all suit Madame de Larnage. She had remembered to warn me against the girls of Montpellier, but she had not warned me against the Pont du Gard. One never thinks of everything.'

Henry James is more sophisticated than Rousseau, and with him admiration is tempered by criticism :

'Over the valley, from side to side and ever so high in the air, stretch the three tiers of the tremendous bridge. They are unspeakably imposing, and nothing could well be more Roman. The hugeness, the solidity, the unexpectedness, the monumental rectitude of the whole thing leave you nothing to say—at the time—and make you stand gazing.

¹ Rousseau, *Confessions*, Part I, Book VI.

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You simply feel that it is noble and perfect, that it has the quality of greatness. . . . It came to pass that at the same time I discovered in it a certain stupidity, a vague brutality. That element is rarely absent from great Roman work, which is wanting in the nice adaptation of the means to the end. The means are always exaggerated; the end is so much more than attained. The Roman rigour was apt to overshoot the mark, and I suppose a race which could do nothing small is as defective as a race which can do nothing great. Of this Roman rigour the Pont du Gard is an admirable example. . . . It would be a great injustice, however, not to insist upon its beauty, a kind of manly beauty, that of an object constructed not to please but to serve, and impressive simply from the scale on which it carries out this intention. The number of arches in each tier is different; they are smaller and more numerous as they ascend. The preservation of the thing is extraordinary; nothing has crumbled or collapsed; every feature remains, and the huge blocks of stone, of a brownish-yellow (as if they had been baked by the Provençal sun for eighteen centuries) pile themselves, without mortar or cement, as evenly as the day they were laid together. . . . When the vague twilight began to gather, the lonely valley seemed to fill itself with the shadow of the Roman name, as if the mighty empire were still as erect as the supports of the aqueduct; and it was open to a solitary tourist, sitting there sentimental, to believe that no people has ever been, or ever will be, as great as that, measured, as we measure the greatness of an individual, by the push they gave to what they undertook. The Pont du Gard is one of the three or four deepest impressions they have left; it speaks of them in a manner with which they might have been satisfied.’¹

Henry James had a natural liking for miniature work, and one more quotation, this time from a great English

¹ H. James, *A Little Tour in France*, London, 1900, p. 180.

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authority, G. Baldwin Brown, must serve as a corrective to his criticism : ¹

‘The best gift of the Romans to us in art is the work that is primarily and essentially a thing of utility, and makes no pretence to aesthetic quality. That it does however possess aesthetic quality is open to demonstration. Wherein does this consist? The chief characteristic of the structures is their purposeful air. They exist entirely, one feels, to do their work, but for this work they are endowed with a solidity even greater than the need demanded. . . . The Romans discerned a practical utility in display, and there underlies the massiveness and grandeur of the great engineering structure a real though perhaps unconscious effort after aesthetic expression.’

Agrippa went to Gaul in the late summer of 20 B.C. after his marriage to Julia, and during the next year he set in hand all the plans of government and building projects of which we have just written. Then history repeated itself; and as in 37 B.C. Octavian had called upon him to leave Gaul and come to the rescue against the pirates, so in the summer of 19 he received an urgent summons from Augustus, begging him to come to the rescue against the Cantabrians, to leave everything in Gaul and take over the supreme command of the Roman armies in Spain. Agrippa must have either smiled or frowned when he received the message, for in Spain as in Sicily the position had become dangerous owing to Augustus himself having failed. But he knew that his presence was necessary, and in the early autumn of 19 he set off across the Pyrenees.

Spain is a strange land with a great variety of climate,

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. XXII, p. 47.

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scenery, and peoples, and in its geography the key to its history may be found. A map which does not give contours would show the peninsula as a unit, separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees and the sea. But this unity is only apparent ; actually it is cut up by mountains into divisions which in ancient times had little intercourse one with the other, and were for the most part inhabited by warlike tribes who would fight fiercely to defend their own territory but could never unite as a nation. A Roman traveller entering Spain at Gades (Cadiz) found himself in a sub-tropical country where a peaceful and highly civilized people, the Tartessians, had long been settled. But when he crossed the mountains, now called the Sierra Morena, he had on his west the Lusitanians, mountaineers, quick and nimble, water drinkers, sleeping in the open, and excelling in the use of ambushes. On his east was the great central plateau, where the country rises from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic into a huge tower of arid tableland from which mountains rise again like the battlements of a castle. This was the home of the Celtiberians, the wildest of all the Iberians, renowned for their courage, ferocity, and bestial contempt for suffering. And lastly in the north-west, where the Pyrenees continue westwards to the sea, he would come to the country of the Cantabrians, a rainy district with rich pastures and wooded mountains, difficult of access and inhabited by a people prepared to fight to the death for their independence.

When the Romans came into north Spain in 218 B.C., too late to stop Hannibal marching into Italy, the

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Carthaginians were in possession of the south and also of a large part of central Spain, drawing a large revenue from Baetica and enlisting the Celtiberians as soldiers for the armies which were to be sent to reinforce Hannibal, reinforcements which for ten years failed to arrive, as the elder Scipio blocked the road out of Spain. At last Hasdrubal was allowed by Scipio Africanus to get through, and when he was intercepted and killed at the river Metaurus in 207 the Second Punic War was practically ended. The next year the Carthaginians withdrew from Spain to defend their own country, and the Romans took their place. The Spaniards, however, did not appreciate the change of masters, and within ten years the whole country was in revolt, even the peaceful Turdetanians hiring Celtiberian mercenaries to fight for them against their oppressors. In 197 the senate organized the two provinces of Hither and Further Spain, but this did little to stop the fighting, and in 195 the consul Marcus Cato was sent with a large army to establish peace. He defeated the insurgents in a pitched battle ; but when he returned to Rome the Lusitanians invaded the peaceful province, and started guerilla warfare again.

This state of things continued throughout the second century B.C. : occasionally an honest and capable governor, such as Tiberius Gracchus in 179, made some progress in reconciling the natives to Roman rule ; but most of the Roman generals were only eager for money and an easily gained triumph, the worst of them all being Galba, who in 150, after

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accepting the submission of the Lusitanians, massacred their entire army. A general revolt under Viriathus followed, and was only ended by the Romans bribing some of his followers to murder the Spanish leader. By this time the citizen soldiers and the citizen generals of Rome were thoroughly weary of service in Spain ; mutinies were frequent, defeats became more common than victories, and the climax was reached in the twenty years' fighting round Numantia which Scipio Aemilianus brought to an end in 133. Spain was indeed a thorn in Rome's side, and the historian Velleius Paterculus rises to unusual eloquence when he writes about the peninsula :

'These were the provinces that brought death to the Scipios; that taxed the endurance of our ancestors in the disgraceful ten years' campaign against Viriathus; that shook Rome with the panic of the Numantine War: here occurred the shameful surrender of Quintus Pompeius, whose terms the senate disavowed, and the even more shameful capitulation of Mancinus, which was also disavowed and its maker handed over to the enemy: it was Spain that destroyed so many commanders of consular and praetorian rank, and in the days of our fathers raised Sertorius to such a height of power that for a period of five years it was not possible to decide whether the armies of Spain or of Rome were the stronger and which of the two peoples was destined to obey the other.'

Sertorius almost succeeded in establishing an independent empire before he was murdered, and Pompey's campaign did little to ensure lasting peace. Caesar also, though he found himself as a general in Spain, when he came there as praetor in 61, and incidentally

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cleared off his debts by the sale of Spanish captives, left the north-west still unsubdued, a constant menace to the peaceful districts. The subjugation of the whole peninsula was obviously an urgent necessity, and in the summer of 27 Augustus went in person to take command in Spain, hoping perhaps there to strengthen his military reputation which up till that time depended solely upon his Dalmatian campaigns. On this occasion he did not take Agrippa with him, but was accompanied by Statilius Taurus, who had fought against Sextus Pompeius, by his nephew Marcellus, and by his stepson Tiberius. A large army was assembled to the west of Tarraco and marched in three columns northwards, one division under Antistius, the second under Carisius, the third under Augustus.

The three columns reached the Cantabrian country without much difficulty, but when once they were in that region of forests and mountains Augustus found himself no more successful than his predecessors had been. The Cantabrians provokingly refused to come to close quarters and fight a pitched battle ; but if the Romans were marching through valleys or woods, they always found the enemy waiting in ambush to surprise them ; if the Romans laboriously climbed up a mountain side, on reaching the summit they always saw a higher range before them with the Cantabrians in possession. Provisions were scarce, the autumn rains came on, and Augustus, as had happened before, was not strong enough to stand the fatigue that this sort of fighting involved. He was carried in a litter to the east coast, on the way meeting a terrific thunderstorm

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in which one of his bearers was killed by lightning, and after resting for a time at Tarraco returned to Rome in the summer of 24 completely disillusioned with Spanish warfare. Antistius and Carisius were left behind to carry on, and the gates of the temple of Janus were closed to show that all the world was at peace.

As far as Spain was concerned this optimism was unjustified. As soon as Augustus retired the Spaniards came down from their hill fortresses and took the offensive again. A series of skirmishes began, in which the Romans always had the advantage when the fighting was at close quarters, but were never able to force the enemy to a decisive battle ; and at the end of the year the two Roman generals followed Augustus' example, and returning to Rome were awarded the honour of a triumph. The next spring the Cantabrians came down once more, and this time the Roman general showed the might of Rome by devastating the more accessible parts of their country and cutting off the hands of all captives before turning them loose. These methods naturally led in the next years to a widespread revolt, which in the spring of 19 reached such proportions that Augustus sent in haste to Agrippa and begged him to set off at once for Spain.

What sort of people the Cantabrians were is shown by the stories which Strabo tells us of them. A small boy, whose parents and brothers had been taken prisoners and put in chains, got possession of a sword and at his father's command killed the whole family ; a mother killed all her children rather than see them captured, another woman found a knife and killed all

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her fellow prisoners ; one man on being summoned to appear before some drunken Roman soldiers threw himself upon a funeral pyre, another when nailed to the cross sung a song of triumph in his last moments. All alike kept poison, made from hemlock or crowfoot, ready at hand in case of defeat. Their neighbours, the northern Celtiberians, were equally wild : in their country women tilled the fields, and would sometimes give birth to a child when actually working on the land ; then returning home they would put their husbands to bed and treat them as invalids. As for the neighbouring Vettonians, a party of them once visited a Roman camp during a truce, and seeing the officers walking about thought they were crazy and led them by the hand to their tents ; ‘a sane man, they said, should either be fighting or else sitting down quietly.’

The leaders in the revolt were Cantabrians who, having been captured and sold as slaves, had murdered their masters and returned home. With enemies such as these Agrippa knew that resolute measures were necessary, and he began by tightening up the discipline of his own troops. The incompetence of his predecessors had lowered the men’s morale, and in the case of one legion, the 10th Gemina, which had been serving in Spain for six years, he not only degraded several of its officers but also deprived it of its title Augusta. But in dealing with the Cantabrians Agrippa’s previous experience of similar warfare against the Aquitanians in 38 served him in good stead, and he did not rest until he had forced the mountaineers back to their last strongholds, which he then sat down

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to capture by assault. His difficulties were at least as great as those which Augustus had to face, and in addition his army suffered from a plague of rats, and many died of rat-carried diseases. But with Agrippa difficulties and hardships only existed to be overcome. One by one the hill fortresses were taken, their defenders fighting till the last man was killed, and at last there were very few men of military age left among the Cantabrians and the Asturians. The survivors surrendered, all their weapons were confiscated, their strongholds were destroyed, and they were compelled to take up new homes in the plains.

When the fighting was over and the Cantabrians had submitted, Agrippa continued in Spain the work which he had initiated in Gaul. He began by an important change in administration. Hitherto Spain had been divided into two provinces, *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*, Nearer and Further Spain. For this arrangement Agrippa now substituted a triple division, the three new provinces being *Tarraconensis*, north and central Spain, with its capital at Tarraco (Tarragona); *Lusitania* in the west with its capital at the newly founded city of *Emerita Augusta* (Merida); and *Baetica* in the south-east with its capital at Corduba (Cordova). *Baetica*, which for many years had been undisturbed by war, was left in the hands of the senate; the governors of *Lusitania* and *Tarraconensis* were imperial appointments. *Lusitania*, however, was considered to be completely pacified, and its governor had no regular troops under his command. In *Tarraconensis*, on the other hand, no risks were taken, and

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three legions were assigned for service in the province. Agrippa was always inclined to cautious measures, but in this case they were unnecessary. His reduction of the north-west country proved so effectual that the three legions never engaged in a campaign, and in Domitian's reign their number was reduced to one.

As soon as the new arrangement of provinces was settled, Agrippa proceeded on the familiar lines of Roman policy in dealing with conquered countries. First came the making of trunk roads throughout the country, partly as a military measure, partly for commercial reasons. Second, the foundation of new towns with a nucleus of veteran soldiers as the first citizens ; and with this the reorganization of the existing cities to fit into the municipal system, one of the great discoveries of the Empire, which gave rich citizens opportunity both for service and for honour. The next step was the adornment of the new settlements with public buildings, temples, baths, and theatres on the Roman model. Lastly, there was the difficult task of inducing the mountaineers of northern and central Spain to abandon their hill-top villages and their various barbaric cults, and to adopt in their place a settled urban existence and the worship of the goddess Rome with Augustus as her earthly representative.

The road system of Spain, like that of Gaul, designed by Agrippa and completed in the first century A.D., was a great engineering feat. There was one great road already existing, the *Via Domitia*, by which the Roman armies had marched into Spain. This came into Spain near Perthus and went down the east coast

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by way of Tarraco, Saguntum, and Valentia, to end at Carthago Nova. There were, of course, local roads in south Spain, but these were of no great value; the west, the centre, and the north were still waiting for the road maker. Agrippa began in the north by cutting two roads through the western Pyrenees to join the roads he had made in Gaul, one crossing the mountains by Roncesvalles and having its Spanish terminus at Pampaelo (Pampelona), the other slightly more to the east at Iaca (Jaca). Both roads then continued to Caesaraugusta, the great road centre of the north, where the north-western trunk road started, one branch going to Vareia, Legio VII Gemina (Leon), and Asturica Augusta, and then down the west coast to Olisipo (Lisbon), the other to Numantia, Rauda, and Salmantica (Salamanca). These went north-west from Caesaraugusta; another road went south-west to Toletum (Toledo); a third eastwards to Barcino (Barcelona); a fourth due south to Saguntum. All these, it must be understood, were main roads, and all had many subsidiaries constructed and maintained by the local authorities.

If Caesaraugusta may be called the Crewe of the northern system, Emerita Augusta was the Clapham Junction of the southern. Standing on the river Anas it was convenient to all the towns on the Tagus or the Baetis and was the centre of a network of roads going south and west, one south-east to Corduba (Cordova), another due west to Mundobriga and so to the mouth of the Tagus, a third due south to Italica Hispalis (Seville), and Gades (Cadiz). But more important than

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any of these was the great new road, the *Via Augusta*, which branched off from the *Via Domitia* at the river *Sucro*, just south of *Valentia*, and brought the road traffic from Italy to the south-west, leaving *New Carthage* high and dry. Its first stage ended at *Saltigis*, whence it ran northwards to *Toletum* ; there it turned at a right angle and came straight down south to *Emerita*, so that in its course it covered a large part of central Spain.

With the new roads there came into existence new towns, some of them founded for military or political reasons, others growing naturally of themselves when communications were assured. In the north-west of Spain, as might be expected, they usually occupied sites of strategic importance. *Asturica Augusta* (*Astorga*) and *Lucus Augusti* (*Lugo*) were two of a number in the Cantabrian country ; *Bragara Augusta* (*Braga*) and *Pax Augusta* (*Badajoz*) were in Lusitania ; and sometimes a military camp eventually produced a town, as when the headquarters of *Legio VII Gemina* became the famous city of *Leon*. In many cases a native Spanish town received Roman settlers and was given citizen rights. *Caesaraugusta*, for example, which is now *Saragossa*, was founded on the site of the Spanish township of *Salduba*. In the Celtiberian country there were many such cases, most of these towns having the Celtic suffix of *-briga*—*Caesarobriga*, *Augustobriga*, *Juliobriga*. In the south of Spain also the same process was common. *Hispalis*, the old Spanish town which is now *Seville*, had for its official name *Colonia Julia Romula*. *Portus Cale* (*Oporto*) at the mouth of the *Douro*, which gave its name to the country of Portugal,

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superseded the original Spanish settlement of Calem. Colonia Augusta Virma, which is now Ecija, took the place of the old Astigi. To give a complete list would be tedious, for it has been computed that at the beginning of the first century A.D. there were at least fifty communities in Spain with full Roman citizenship, and fifty more with Latin rights. They were all centres of Roman civilization, and one of them, Emerita Augusta (Merida), may be taken as an example.

To-day Merida in Spain is in the same position as Nîmes in France. Both places contain more Roman buildings than any other town in their country, and in both Agrippa was responsible for most of them. The theatre at Merida, which we know from an inscription,¹ was built at Agrippa's instructions in 16 B.C. and restored by Hadrian in 135, is still in fair preservation.² Many of the seats are intact, as are the passages for entering and leaving the auditorium. The orchestra is paved with slabs of coloured marble, and the stage is adorned with marble cornices and marble reliefs, while its walls have a white pattern in stucco on a blue ground. Behind the stage there was a colonnade with pillars of monolith grey marble twenty feet in height, their bases and capitals in white marble. From the orchestra a drain ran carrying off rain water to the river. The Circus Maximus, which like the theatre was outside the city walls, is now in ruins ; but the Naumachia, the water circus, used for mimic sea

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. 2, No. 474.

² This was written in June 1936.

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fighths, has suffered little from time, and gives a good idea of what the corresponding building in Rome was like. There are sixteen rows of seats round the basin arranged in three sections ; the basin itself, in which the boats floated, is nearly five hundred yards long and was filled by pipes carried under the seats from its own special aqueduct. There are also remains, dating probably from Agrippa's time, of several temples and public baths; and most impressive of all, Trajan's great viaduct across the Guadiana, a structure nearly as wonderful as his 'Devil's Bridge' at Segovia.

For many centuries Merida has been a quiet, sleepy little town, and its sleepiness is one of the reasons why so many of its ancient monuments have been left undisturbed. But in Agrippa's time it became at once, as capital city of the new province of Lusitania, a place of great importance, and so continued for over seven hundred years. Otho, who was governor of Lusitania before he became emperor, added to its splendid buildings, and its prosperity extended to the sister city Felicitas Julia (Lisbon), which was usually the governor's summer residence. In the third century A.D. Merida was the seat of a Christian bishopric, its councils guided from Carthage by the great Cyprian, and in the persecution of Diocletian it produced one of the most revered of Christian martyrs, the virgin Eulalia, of whom the Spaniard Prudentius, greatest of Christian Latin poets, sings :

Nunc locus est Emerita tumulo
Clara colonia Vettoniae,
Quam memorabilis amnis Ana

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Praeterit, et viridante rapax
Gurgite moenia pulchra lavit.

‘Emerita is now her grave,
Vettonia’s famous town
Whose walls the Ana’s waters lave,
That stream of high renown.
She sees the river onward glide
Swift rushing with its emerald tide.’

When the barbarians came into Spain the sanctity of Eulalia’s shrine prevented the Suevi and the Visigoths from doing any great damage to the town, and when in 710 it fell into the hands of the Arab invaders it was still so magnificent that the Arab general Muza cried : ‘One would think that men had gathered together from all the world to found this city.’

The towns we have mentioned were new foundations, but there were also some older cities which were of equal importance in the Spanish municipal system. Of these the chief were Gades, Carthago Nova, Corduba, Tarraco, and Italica. Gades, founded by Tyrians in very early times, was always a free city and in 78 B.C. was recognized by Rome as a *civitas foederata*. At the census held A.D. 8 it contained more rich men than any Italian town save Rome and Patavium, its citizens controlling most of the Atlantic trade from Britain in the north to Guinea in the south, and also holding large estates in Africa. Its dancing girls were, and are, famous, and Martial’s ‘*Gades iocosae*’ merely anticipates the modern ‘Cadiz la joyosa.’ Nova Carthago, founded by Hasdrubal about 230 B.C., was made by the Romans the capital of the province of Hither

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Spain. Under the Republic it was an important place, but it was not until the time of Julius Caesar that it obtained citizen rights and was then renamed *Colonia Victrix Julia*. Its silver mines, its fishing fleet, and its esparto fields gave it wealth, but after the *Via Augusta* diverted through traffic to *Valentia* it lost much of its importance. *Corduba*, the capital of the Further Province under the Republic and of *Baetica* under the Empire, was founded in 152 B.C., its first citizens being veterans from the army of *Claudius Marcellus*. A splendid city, it had temples, law courts, and theatres, of which now little remains; although the finest of the temples, that of *Janus*, stood on the site that the Moors used for their great mosque, and many of its coloured marble columns are there visible. There is also a Roman bridge over the *Guadalquivir* and a Roman aqueduct. *Tarraco*, founded by the *Scipios* 218 B.C. on the site of a native town, was the nearest port to Italy and became the capital city of *Tarracensis*. *Augustus* gave it citizen rights, and we have represented on coins a temple dedicated to *Augustus* and *Rome*. The temple has gone, but a statue of *Augustus*, a marble altar, some friezes, and a great bell remain. *Italica* was founded in 206 with veterans from *Scipio's* army about two leagues from the native town of *Hispalis* (*Seville*). In its early days it was reckoned a village, but in *Caesar's* time it became a municipality, and under *Hadrian*, who richly adorned his native town, it is sometimes called *Aelia Augusta*. Its site is now an olive orchard, but the amphitheatre still stands, a building of stone and cement with fifteen tiers of seats.

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It is a significant fact that before Agrippa's arrival Roman Spain had scarcely ever been free from the turmoil of war, and with the exception of Viriathus had produced no great men. After his departure the whole country, north and south alike, settled down to centuries of peaceful progress, and was not only the birthplace of two of the greatest of Roman emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, but also a centre of learning and literature. Of the six greatest silver Latin writers four are Spaniards, and those four do not by any means exhaust the list. The rhetorician Seneca, his son the philosopher and statesman, his grandson the poet Lucan, and the Gallio of the Acts of the Apostles were all born at Corduba. Pomponius Mela, the geographer, came from Carteia, Columella, the agricultural writer from Gades. These were all from south Spain ; from the north we have Quintilian, the best critic that Rome produced, born at Calagurris, and Martial, the inventor of the epigram, who was happy to be able to return from Rome to his native Bilbilis. As Merivale justly remarks :¹

‘From this period the arts of peace and civilisation were allowed to germinate without interruption. The fertile genius of the Iberian population profited to the utmost by the advantages of its position, secure from the inroads of war, and opportune for peaceful communication with the rest of the world. The cities of the great western peninsula became famous for their luxury and letters, and the schools of Baetica furnished a longer list of historians, poets, and philosophers than any province of the Empire in which the

¹ Merivale, *History of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

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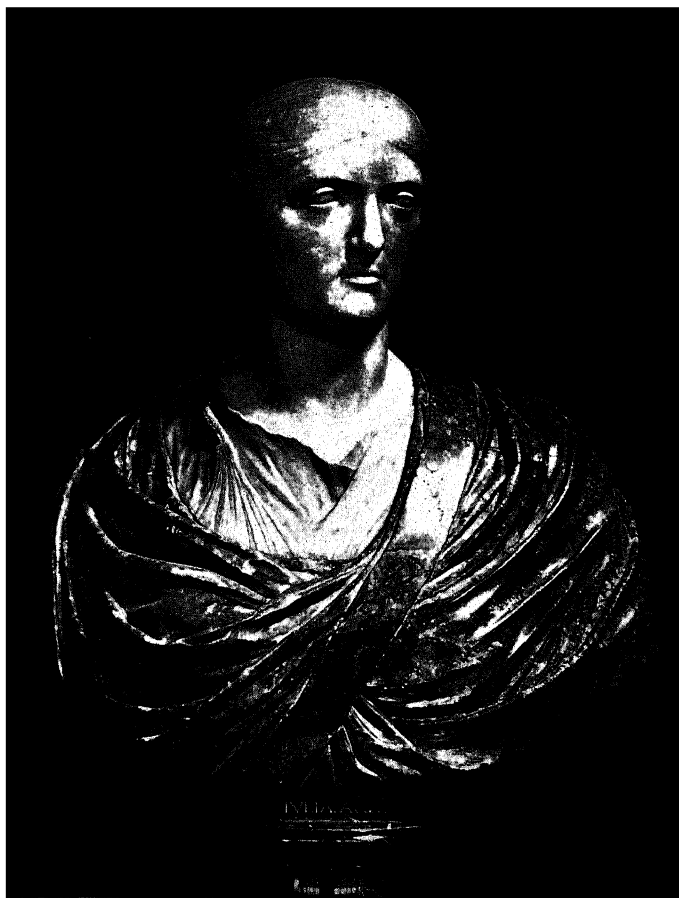
imperial language was spoken. Throughout the southern part of the country the natives were completely Romanized, so as to forget their vernacular tongue. . . . Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures flourished; the demand of Italy for grain gave an impulse to industry and fertilized the Iberian soil with a continual stream of wealth; the spirit of disaffection to Rome and the Caesarean house yielded to the sense of increasing comfort and abundance; and the ease and contentment of the mass of the population may be estimated from the fact that henceforth Spain for four centuries disappeared from the page of military history.'

CHAPTER X

THE LAST YEARS

IN the last chapter we described the work which Agrippa did in Gaul and Spain between the years 20-17 B.C. But, as we said, although Agrippa spent the greater part of that period in those two countries, he returned to Rome on several occasions for visits of some duration. What happened on those occasions must be taken first, and we may then proceed to the history of the last four years of his life.

In 21 B.C. the marriage of Agrippa and Julia took place, and in 20 the first child of their union was born, a son, at first called simply Gaius, and then after his adoption by his grandfather Gaius Caesar. Towards the end of the year 20 Agrippa returned to Rome for a brief visit, and late in 19 B.C. the second child came, a girl called Julia. At last it seemed as if Augustus was to be gratified in his desire for a family of grandchildren, and he doubtless felt that he owed one more debt to Agrippa. At any rate in 18 B.C. he brought forward in the senate proposals that gave his son-in-law a place in the state which was in almost all ways equal to his own. The proconsular command that had been given to Agrippa in 23 B.C. for five years was extended for another five, and the tribunician power was also granted him for the same length of time. In military



JULIA

Photo Alinari

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and civil matters he was now on exactly the same footing as Augustus, and might be described as co-regent of the Empire. The only difference between them lay in the power of final decision which Augustus still reserved for himself.

It was in this year also that Augustus attempted to make people moral by force of law, a method which to-day seems more in harmony with Anglo-Saxon than with Latin mentality. The *Leges Juliae* of 18 B.C. were brought in by him in virtue of his tribunician power, but how far they were his own original idea and how far they were prompted by Livia and Agrippa are questions which it is difficult to answer. It is possible, of course, for a man to believe sincerely that morality and abstinence are good things for other people, and then to be either unwilling or unable to practise such virtues himself. But in the case of a ruler example is better than precept, and Augustus was certainly not an example of marital fidelity. His social legislation represents the views of right conduct held by Livia and Agrippa, and put into practice by them through their whole lives. But Augustus as a moral reformer seems out of place, and it was with some measure of poetic justice that his laws finally recoiled upon his own head.

It must be understood that his measures were aimed chiefly at the ruling classes in the state, and scarcely touched the life of the mass of middle-class citizens. Whether the Roman aristocracy at the beginning of our era were more immoral than the corresponding class in England during, let us say, the eighteenth

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century is a doubtful point. They were certainly less drunken and less brutal, but in sexual matters they made a more open display of loose living. In this women were perhaps worse offenders than men, and the licence enjoyed by such persons as Clodia in the last years of the Republic and by Julia after Agrippa's death might rightly be considered a public scandal. The power which women at this time gained to hold property in their own right and to be independent of male control undoubtedly led some wives to emulate that freedom in sexual matters which their husbands claimed for themselves. The result was disastrous: *corruptio optimi pessima est*; but the efficacy of the laws whereby Augustus proposed to check the corruption of female morality may be seen in Juvenal and the early fathers of the Christian Church.

The first law, *Lex Julia de coercendis adulteriis*, was intended to check adultery and to protect the married state by giving it the protection of the law courts. Under the Republic a wife's infidelity was purely a matter for the family, a husband's infidelity was a matter for no one at all. Theoretically if a wife was taken in adultery she might be killed by her husband, either on his own responsibility or after consultation with a family council. But public opinion was strongly against so severe a penalty; and if the husband did not condone the offence—and such complaisance was quite common—the wife usually escaped with a divorce and the loss of part of her dowry, which went as compensation for his injured feelings to the husband. The

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new law changed all this, and what had been a private peccadillo was made a public misdemeanour to be punished in a court of law. If a wife was suspected of adultery it became the husband's duty to divorce her and then bring the case before the magistrates; if he did not himself appear as prosecutor the woman's father had to take his place; if the father also failed any citizen more than twenty-five years old could act as accuser. Information against a woman for immoral conduct could be laid by any person, and if a husband refused to divorce his wife when such information was proved correct he rendered himself liable to penalties. For the guilty pair themselves the consequences of conviction were very serious. Both were exiled, each to a different penal island; the paramour forfeited half his property to the state, the woman a third together with half her dowry, and she was forbidden any marriage in the future with a free-born Roman.

The second law, *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, had the same ultimate aim as the first, to establish marriage as an honourable state, protected by law and encouraged to fulfil its primary purpose of producing young citizens. But while the first law was directed against those who being married brought marriage into disrepute by their wantonness, the second law had in view many members of the ruling classes who preferred to remain bachelors, and also the many married couples who were content to be childless. Its special object was to make marriage compulsory for all men and women of senatorial and equestrian rank; and to

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achieve this object an elaborate system of penalties and rewards was devised. It was assumed that marriage was a civic duty for men between the ages of twenty-five and sixty, and for women between twenty and fifty ; also that every married man should be the father of at least three children. The chief penalties enacted were these. A bachelor could not benefit under a will if his property was worth more than £800 ; a married man who was childless forfeited half of all legacies to the state ; spinsters and barren wives over the age of fifty could not inherit ; and unmarried women paid a yearly levy of one per cent. of their capital until they found a husband. The rewards, classed together under the phrase *ius trium liberorum*, gave the father of three children a privileged position in government service. For example, among candidates for office, if other things were equal the man with the larger family was chosen ; the family man was preferred for a provincial governorship ; and a man was allowed to stand for a magistracy as many years before the legal time as he had children.

Having thus attempted to reform Roman morals Augustus determined in 17 B.C. to signalize the beginning of the Golden Age which Virgil had prophesied by a great religious festival. It was now just ten years since the new government had been established, and the occasion seemed favourable to invoke the favour of the gods. According to an old tradition in 509 B.C., the first year of the Republic, an expiatory feast had been instituted, the *Ludi Saeculares*, which was to be repeated every hundred years. Another celebration

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certainly took place in 249 B.C. and probably in 149 B.C., but in 49 B.C. it was prevented by the outbreak of civil war. There was an obvious difficulty in reconciling the dates, and as usual in such cases recourse was made to the Sibylline Oracles. This collection was in the charge of a Commission of Fifteen, of which both Augustus and Agrippa were members. On their instructions another member, Ateius Capito, a lawyer, made a careful search, and discovered an oracle which recorded the last celebration as having taken place not in 149 B.C. but in 126 B.C., and also stated that the length of the Etruscan *saeculum* was one hundred and ten years. All was now clear. The senate decreed that the festival should be held with Augustus and Agrippa as presidents; Ateius Capito was put in charge of the necessary arrangements; and Horace was commissioned to write a ceremonial ode.

The gods in whose honour the feast had originally been held were Pluto and his bride Proserpina; but their places now were taken by Apollo, whom Augustus after Actium regarded as his patron saint, and his sister Diana. Heralds were sent all over Italy to summon the people to Rome, and bachelors were informed that the new regulation forbidding their attendance at public games would on this occasion only be waived. Proceedings began on May 26th with a ritual purification by sulphur and bitumen, and on the last three days of the month the Commissioners offered to the gods the first fruits of the coming harvest in the form of cakes made of wheat, barley, and beans. On the 31st, under the light of a full moon, the Campus Martius

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was filled by a great concourse, and in their presence Augustus sacrificed nine lambs and nine kids to the Fates, praying them in return to bless the Roman People and his own household with children. Then one hundred and ten chosen matrons gave a banquet to Juno and Diana, whose images were placed at the table, and the night ended with the performance of plays in a wooden theatre near the Tiber.

The next day Augustus and Agrippa went up together to the Capitol, and each sacrificed a bull to Jupiter, the matrons gave a second banquet, more plays were performed, and that night Augustus made a bloodless offering of twenty-seven cakes to the goddesses of child-birth. On June 2nd Augustus and Agrippa each sacrificed a cow to Juno, the matrons held a special service, over which Agrippa presided alone, kneeling in prayer for children, and in the evening Augustus sacrificed a sow to Mother Earth. On June 3rd in the morning Augustus and Agrippa went up to the Palatine, and offered bloodless sacrifice to Apollo and Diana, and then a choir of twenty-seven youths and twenty-seven maidens assembled before the temple of Apollo, and in the presence of the Commissioners chanted Horace's ode. The *Carmen Saeculare* is no better and no worse than most poems written to order, and perhaps four of its nineteen stanzas will be sufficient for the reader :

‘Gods, grant to docile youth worth’s upright manners,
Gods, grant to placid age worth’s calm contentment,
Grant to the Roman race growth, power, and riches
And all that can adorn!

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Bless him who nears with milk-white steers your altars,
Whose blood flows bright from Venus and Anchises,
Still every foe in battle may he conquer,
And after conquest spare.

Awed by our arms and by the Alban lictors
Now the Mede owns our power on land and ocean,
Now Ind and Scythia, she of late so haughty,
To Rome for pardon sue.

Now Faith and Peace, and antique Shame and Honour
Flock fearless back, and Virtue long neglected,
And with them comes their sure companion, Plenty,
Rich with o'erflowing horn.¹

The chariot races given by Agrippa which concluded the festival were possibly more acceptable to the populace than this musical performance. But the whole ceremony was a great success for the new government, and before the year ended Agrippa and Augustus had a fresh reason for mutual congratulations. In the autumn of 17 Julia presented her husband with a third child, a son named Lucius, who together with his elder brother was immediately adopted by his grandfather into the Julian family. By the adoption the two boys were marked out as successors to the principate, and while Augustus thus became legally the father of three children and an example to all Romans, Agrippa had the satisfaction of knowing that even if Augustus survived him the succession was secured for his descendants. As a matter of fact at this time Agrippa seemed to be much the better life, and the

¹ *Carmen Saeculare*, 45-60. (Tr. Lytton.)

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next year games were held at his expense by the Fifteen Commissioners *pro valetudine Caesaris* and prayers offered to the gods for the health of the princeps.

It was early in 16 B.C. that Agrippa entered upon what was to be the last stage of his career. He had already settled the organization of the Western provinces and he now proceeded to the East, in possession of the proconsular command which gave him absolute control, and there remained for the next three years. His three young children and Julia accompanied him, for although it was contrary to Roman custom that the wife of a governor should go with him to his province, Julia was above the law, and probably both Augustus and Agrippa thought that she would be safer with her husband than she would have been if she had remained in Rome. It must be acknowledged that in this period no scandal was attached to her name ; and while she was in the East she became the mother of a second daughter, who was named after her father Agrippina.

Of what Agrippa did in 16 B.C. we have very little information. He may have gone first to Macedonia, and passing from there northwards visited the new territories bordering on the Danube which afterwards became the province of Moesia ; but of this we have no direct evidence. From numerous inscriptions, however, we know that in the later part of the year he travelled leisurely through Greece, and received an effusive welcome from many of the Greek cities. At Taenarum, for example, and at Oropus statues were

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set up in his honour ; at Corinth one of the new city tribes was named Agrippia after him ; at Sparta coins were issued with his effigy, and a college of Agrippiastae founded. We know too that he went to the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, probably to receive treatment for the gout which was beginning to trouble him, and there, as was usual with grateful patients, set up a votive monument in honour of the god. At Athens he seems to have stayed for some time, and his visit was commemorated by a huge monument, a life-size statue in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, which was placed in front of the Propylaea leading up to the Acropolis. He for his part gave the city a large roofed theatre, the Agrippeion, which was used for recitations and musical performances.

Leaving Athens towards the end of 16 B.C. he crossed to Asia Minor in the same leisurely fashion by way of the islands ; and again inscriptions tell us that his journey was in the nature of a triumphal progress. Nor was Julia neglected by the obsequious Greeks. At Andros, Mytilene, Samos, and Cos her statues were set up ; at Paphos she was worshipped as a goddess ; and at Lesbos she was hailed by the people as Aphrodite herself returning once more to earth. It is probable that from Lesbos she and her husband turned northwards to visit the Thracian Chersonese, which was Agrippa's private property in the same way as Egypt was the property of Augustus. At any rate it is certain that early in 15 B.C. Agrippa was in the Troad ; for we know that at Lampsacus he purchased the celebrated 'Dying Lion,' by the sculptor Lysippus, and at Cyzicus,

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close by, the paintings of 'Aphrodite' and 'Ajax,' which he afterwards gave to the Roman people.

But in the midst of all these festivities and artistic diversions Agrippa did not neglect the main objects of his journey. One of these was the arrangement of colonies for veteran soldiers in the Eastern provinces by the same methods as those which he had employed in Gaul and in Spain. While he was in Greece he had established a new Roman settlement at Patrae in Achaea, and he followed this by the foundation of Alexandria in the Troad, and also gave back to Cyzicus the free city status which Augustus had taken away in 20 B.C. In Syria, to which he came in the summer of 15 B.C., he settled a large number of veterans from the 5th and 8th legions at Berytus (Beirut), which had been founded as the first Roman colony in Syria soon after the battle of Actium, and also made arrangements, carried out after his death, for a new military colony at Heliopolis (Baalbek). Both these settlements were near the Lebanon, designed as a check upon the wild mountaineers of that region, and they remained as the only centres of purely Roman influence. The four legions which formed the permanent garrison of the province were stationed not in the military camps of the Rhine frontier but in cities, at Antioch, Cyrrhus, Raphanae, and Laodicea (Latakia); and their chief duty was not to keep guard against an external enemy but merely to ensure peace and order in the province itself. In Syria Agrippa found a state of affairs entirely different from that which he had met in Gaul, and he prudently refrained from interfering with its urban

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civilization dating from the time of Alexander, with its two languages, Greek and Aramaic, and its chief centre at Antioch.

To Antioch, the pleasure city of the East as Rome was the pleasure city of the West, Agrippa paid two visits, and on each occasion showed his usual generous munificence. He built a new suburb outside the eastern gate, he reconstructed the theatre and added an extra tier of seats, he rebuilt the stadium which had been destroyed in an earthquake, and he presented the city with a Bath Palace similar to that which he had given to Rome. Whether he also reorganized the water-supply we do not know, but it is a curious fact that during the first centuries of our era at Antioch, as at Rome, the public baths and fountains were the most striking features of the city. The Syrian capital in all its long history only produced one author of any merit, and Libanius in the fourth century A.D., writing the 'Panegyric of Antioch,' says :

'Some cities have beautiful fountains: we surpass them in number. Some have numerous fountains: we surpass them in beauty. Of our public baths each one has the proportions of a river; of our private baths several are equally well supplied, and the others are not far behind. . . . Every district in the city prides itself on its baths, which are maintained at their own expense; and although these district baths are smaller than the city baths, they are even more beautiful, for each district strives to outvie the others. . . . With us the public fountains are merely for display, since everyone has water laid on indoors. As for its clearness, you can test that easily if you fill a pail and then take it away. You will fancy that your receptacle is empty, so plainly can you see the shining bottom,'

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In the course of 15 B.C., while Agrippa was in Syria he received a ceremonial visit from Herod, the client King of Judaea. That remarkable man was one of Agrippa's warmest admirers, and it may not be out of place to give a brief sketch of his career. His father, Antipater, had been appointed by Julius Caesar as ruler of Judaea in conjunction with the high priest Hyrcanus. After Caesar's murder Antipater went over to Cassius, who made Herod his financial agent in Syria, while Hyrcanus on Antipater's death gave him his daughter Mariamne in marriage. The defeat of the Republican party at Philippi seemed a fatal blow to Herod's hopes, but going to Rome in 40 B.C. he persuaded Antony that he had been an unwilling agent, and was by him appointed first as tetrarch and then as King of Judaea. Fortunately for himself, as it proved, he and Cleopatra were open enemies: the Queen of Egypt was constantly urging Antony to deprive Herod of his throne, Herod for his part advised Antony to kill Cleopatra and seize the Egyptian treasure. Consequently he took no active part in the Actium campaign, and when he was summoned before Octavian, after the battle, he was shrewd enough to see that honesty was the best policy. Laying his diadem at Octavian's feet he said: 'I was loyal to my protector Antony, and I will be loyal to you.' Thereupon Octavian gave him back his crown, and handed over to him the Galatian mercenaries who had been Cleopatra's bodyguard.

It is possible that this frank reply was the beginning of Herod's friendship with Agrippa, which was

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strengthened in 23 B.C. at Mytilene when Agrippa was making his first visit to the East. Herod came there to pay his respects and was gladly welcomed. Soon after his departure ambassadors arrived from Gadara, the Greek city in Judaea where the poet Meleager was born, to complain of the king. Agrippa not only refused them an audience, but sent them back to Herod in chains, and a little later showed his confidence by considerably enlarging his client's dominions. From that time Herod lost no opportunity of showing his gratitude. He named his palace hall Agrippeion, and one of his new cities Agrippias ; he sent his eldest son Antipater to Rome as a member of Agrippa's suite ; and when a grandson was born to him he called him Marcus Julius Agrippa. That child is known in history as Herod Agrippa, and by a strange turn of fortune he became the closest friend and adviser of Agrippa's grandson, the mad emperor Gaius Caligula.

Herod, like Agrippa, was a great builder, and in his efforts to hellenize the Jews and bring Judaea out of its isolation into the circle of Graeco-Roman civilization, he founded many military colonies and trading cities. Samaria, for instance, was entirely rebuilt by him, and in the new city which he called Sebaste (Augusta) he constructed a magnificent temple to Augustus. Straton's Tower he changed from a small settlement into a busy port and named it Caesarea. Anthedon was enlarged and reconstructed with the new name Agrippias. In Judaea itself he built a new citadel at Jericho, and in Jerusalem a whole system of fortifications centred on the Tower of Antonia. Less

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popular with the orthodox Jews were the theatre which he built in his capital for the performance of Greek plays, the stadium in which people of all nations were invited every four years to compete in gymnastic and musical contests, and the amphitheatre outside the city where gladiators and wild beasts fought in the Roman fashion. So perhaps it was as a counterpoise to these secular structures that in 20 B.C. he undertook to rebuild the Great Temple, and began the work on a scale of such magnificence that it was not completed until A.D. 64, many years after his death.

In the Temple daily sacrifice was made in honour of Augustus, the cost of the victims being defrayed by the imperial treasury, and Herod begged his patron to come up with him to Jerusalem and see the sacred edifice. Agrippa consented, and travelling with his retinue by way of Sebaste and Caesarea was enthusiastically welcomed by the Jewish people. Some details of his visit we learn from Josephus,¹ who enlarges upon the esteem in which Herod was held both by Agrippa and Augustus. We are told how all the inhabitants of Jerusalem clad in festive attire came out to meet the great Roman, how he gave a magnificent banquet to the people, and not only sacrificed a hecatomb to Jehovah in the Temple, but also made other offerings on the most generous scale. We hear too how he admired the building with its central gateway on which his own name was inscribed, and how he would walk through the courts and watch the priests engaged in their elaborate ritual.

¹ Josephus, *Antiquitates*, XVI, 2.

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These peaceful pleasures, however, were soon interrupted. The north-east corner of the Roman Empire, the lands about the Black Sea, was mostly under the rule of client kings; and in the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the north coast of the Euxine there had been just before this time a dynastic revolution. Since Caesar's death the ruler, recognized both by Antony and Octavian, had been Asander who had married his predecessor's daughter Dynamis ('She who must be obeyed'), one of those masterful women not uncommon in later Greek history. About 17 B.C. an adventurer named Scribonius, encouraged, it is said, by Dynamis, started a revolt against the old king; and Asander, who was then over ninety, when he saw the rebels gaining ground starved himself to death. Dynamis then openly transferred her affections to Scribonius, who gave out that he had been appointed by the Roman authorities as Asander's successor, and the pair established themselves as joint rulers, but with Dynamis as the predominant partner.

A report of all these events reached Agrippa in Jerusalem towards the end of 15 B.C., and he saw that firm action was necessary. The Bosporan kingdom was the main bulwark against the northern barbarians, the Scythians on the west, and the Sarmatians on the east; its government also had the duty of keeping the Taurian and Caucasian freebooters in some sort of order; and from its fertile territory the northern cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean drew a great part of their supplies. Its ruler had to be a man who was trustworthy, capable, and approved by Rome;

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and Scribonius possessed none of these qualifications. Accordingly Agrippa sent off at once to Polemo, the client king of Pontus on the south coast of the Euxine, bidding him deal promptly with Scribonius, and promising him Dynamis and the throne of Bosphorus as his reward. But before Polemo could muster his forces Dynamis obtained information of what was impending, and took her own measures. She had Scribonius quietly assassinated, and when the king of Pontus arrived on the scene she and her people offered the aggressor a vigorous resistance.

This turn of affairs was distinctly annoying, and Agrippa decided to deal personally with the Bosporan Cleopatra. Herod was only too pleased to supply him with ships and men, and in the spring of 14 B.C. he sailed into the Black Sea and took up his headquarters at Sinope on the south coast. The news of his arrival soon reached Dynamis, and she realized that though it was possible to resist Polemo, it would be disastrous to attempt opposition to the might of Rome. She therefore sent envoys to Agrippa promising obedience to his wishes, and he proceeded to arrange matters. The Bosporans were ordered in the future to supply contingents of infantry and cavalry to the auxiliary forces of the Empire, and to undertake the defence of Chersonesus against the Scythians. Dynamis, for her part, was instructed to accept Polemo as her husband, and thus the two kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus were united. For the failure of the marriage Agrippa cannot be held responsible, but after a year the ill-assorted couple quarrelled, and Dynamis took refuge

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with a young Sarmatian chief named Aspurgus whom she incited first to attack and then to kill Polemo.

That happened some years later, and in 14 B.C. it seemed as if the union of Pontus and Bosphorus would ensure a stable and efficient government on both sides of the Euxine. Agrippa himself was satisfied, and remained for some time at Sinope while Julia went off to visit Ilium, the site of ancient Troy. Unfortunately on her return journey she rashly attempted to cross the Scamander by night. That river, as we know from Homer,¹ is subject to sudden floods, her litter and its bearers were swept down stream by the violent current, and it was with difficulty that she was rescued alive. What she told Agrippa we do not know, but for the accident he held the people of Ilium responsible, and imposed upon them a fine of one hundred thousand drachmas (£4000). The unhappy citizens sent an embassy to Sinope to beg for mercy, but when they arrived they dared not even ask for an audience with Agrippa and commissioned Nicolaus of Damascus to plead their case for them. Nicolaus, who tells the whole story in his Autobiography, had been tutor to Cleopatra's children, and after her death entered Herod's service as his confidential secretary. He approached Herod, Herod approached Agrippa, Agrippa relented and remitted the fine, and the people of Ilium set up his statue with the inscription: 'Kinsman of our state,' Agrippa being in their eyes a Julian, and so descended from Julus, son of Aeneas, Prince of Troy.

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, XXI, 250 sq. : the fight between Achilles and the river god.

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For an account of another episode at this time, in which Nicolaus again was concerned, we are indebted to Josephus.¹ In the summer of 14 B.C. Agrippa, still attended by Herod, left Sinope and made his way by land through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia to the city of Ephesus, where he took ship for Samos. While he was there the Jews living in the cities of Asia Minor seized the opportunity of Herod's presence with the great man to send an embassy complaining of the wrongs done to them by the Greeks. Agrippa appointed a tribunal under his own presidency to hear their case, which was presented by Nicolaus. The Greeks, he declared, forced the Jews to appear in courts of law on the Sabbath, and also constantly interfered with, or even intercepted, the transmission of the money sent by believers for the service of the Temple at Jerusalem; and he demanded that the special rights granted by the Roman government to Jews in these matters should be observed. The Greeks on their side could only plead that as the Jews refused to sacrifice to the city gods they deserved to lose their citizenship. But as citizenship had been granted to the Jews with full knowledge of their position, this argument carried little weight, and Agrippa gave a decision which confirmed all the privileges that the Jews enjoyed, and also sent stern letters to the people of Ephesus and Cyrene warning them against disobedience.

The winter of 14 B.C. was spent by Agrippa at Mytilene, and in the early spring of 13 B.C. he returned to Italy. Soon afterwards Augustus came back from

¹ Josephus, *Antiquitates*, XVI, 2.

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Gaul, and for a short time the two rulers were together. The opportunity was taken to have the senate renew, for a second five years, the tribunician power and the proconsular command which had been conferred upon them both five years previously ; and on this occasion Agrippa's powers were extended to cover the whole Empire. Then for a little time he retired to the seclusion of his Campanian villa, near the place where as a young man he had made the great harbour of the Lucrine Lake.

He was not allowed to rest for long. The wild tribes in the district lying south and west of the Danube which the Romans called Pannonia—it is now split up between Austria, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia—had never really accepted Roman rule. In the Illyrian campaigns of 35 and 34 B.C., Octavian and Agrippa had forced their way into their southern borders and compelled submission for the moment ; but twenty years had passed since then, and in 14 B.C. the whole country was in open revolt. Marcus Vinicius, one of the new men who had come to the front since Actium and had long experience of fighting on the Danube frontier, did his best to quell the outbreak ; but he had neither the prestige nor the armed strength to re-establish Roman authority. In the late autumn of 13 B.C. the situation had become dangerous, and once again Agrippa was called upon to take control. Setting out from South Italy, he made the long journey northwards and arrived in Pannonia just when the storms of winter were beginning. There he at once began to make preparations for a vigorous campaign. But as had happened before

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at Bosphorus, his mere arrival brought an end to the revolt. As soon as the Pannonians heard that it was Agrippa in person who was now in charge they hastened to lay down their arms and make submission. And so leaving everything apparently quiet—after his death the revolt immediately started again—Agrippa, in the spring of 12 B.C., returned to Campania.

Exactly what happened then we do not know. He was now fifty-one, in the vigour of late middle age, and he had shown all his usual energy in making the long journey to Pannonia and carrying out there the necessary arrangements for a campaign. The gout from which he had been suffering may have returned in a malignant form, and the irritation caused by that painful malady must certainly have been aggravated by Julia's conduct, for his wife on her return to Rome began at once to make up for her comparative chastity in the East. While Agrippa was in Pannonia she attempted to seduce Tiberius, and failing in that she took as her lover Sempronius Gracchus, one of the most daring libertines of his time. If we believe Tacitus and Suetonius, her amours were the common gossip of Rome, and Pliny goes so far as to say that her husband died tortured by her infidelity.¹

Whatever the malady was, and whatever its cause, it quickly became serious. Augustus was in Rome presiding over the games which he was giving in the name of his adopted sons, Agrippa's children, when he heard of his colleague's danger. The date is fixed by the fact that the Quinquatrus festival in honour of Minerva,

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 7. 46 : raptus in tormentis adulteriorum coniugis.

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March 19-23rd, was then being celebrated. Augustus at once hastened to Campania, but before he arrived Agrippa was dead, and nothing remained for him to do but to arrange a state funeral. A procession of mourners accompanied the body on the hundred miles' journey from Campania to Rome, and in the Forum Augustus delivered the funeral oration. He had just assumed the office of *pontifex maximus*, and by one of those curious taboos common in Roman ritual the head of the state religion was not allowed to look at a dead body, so that he spoke with a curtain stretched between himself and the corpse. Then the procession passed to the Campus Martius, where the body, carried on the shoulders of senators, was cremated, and the ashes, collected by the leading men of the equestrian order, placed in the Mausoleum which Augustus had built for himself.

The last formality was the opening and publication of Agrippa's will. It was found that in it he bequeathed the Bath Palace and its gardens to the Roman people for their free use ; for their maintenance he left some of his estates to Augustus, who rightly interpreting his wishes immediately made them public property. He also left to Augustus the band of skilled slave artisans which he had organized to deal with the water-supply of Rome, and these too were handed over to the city in the next year when the first Water Board was established. Augustus indeed was made principal heir to all his property, his lands in the Thracian Chersonese, in Sicily, and in Egypt, his marble quarries in Phrygia, and his brickworks in Bruttium. Of direct legacies

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to his two sons and two daughters we are not told, but as Julia's children were the direct heirs of Augustus and were still quite young he probably thought it unnecessary.

For his part Augustus did all that he could to honour his dead friend. The child that was born after his death he named Agrippa Postumus. He distributed a largess of four hundred sesterces to every Roman citizen as a gift from Agrippa, and instituted yearly games in his memory at which he not only presided himself, but insisted on all the senators being present. In 7 B.C., on the fifth anniversary of his death, the games, held in the Saepta Julia, were especially magnificent, and all who attended except Augustus wore the garb of mourning. That same year the princeps completed such buildings as Agrippa had left unfinished, including the Diribitorium and the Porticus Vipsania. Finally, as a permanent memorial a series of copper coins was issued with the head of Agrippa on the obverse, and on the reverse a figure of Neptune with dolphin and trident.

But Agrippa's best memorial was the example he set to coming generations of unselfish devotion to the state. He was proud to be the servant, not so much of Augustus, but of the divinity of Rome, whose earthly representative was the Princeps. He also was largely responsible for the *Pax Romana*, which gave the European world for two centuries the longest period of peace and prosperity that it has ever enjoyed. The personal character of the Emperor, good or bad, was of no great importance except to the few persons

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who were brought into close connection with him. The work was done by government officials and urban authorities, men of Agrippa's stamp, who carried out their duties faithfully and efficiently, and were satisfied with the approbation of their fellow citizens.

EPILOGUE

UP till 12 B.C. Augustus had been uniformly successful in all his undertakings. How far his success was due to himself and how far to Agrippa must be judged from this narrative ; but through all his first period he had even better reason than Sulla had to consider himself the favourite of Fortune. With the death of Agrippa the tide turned : the Greek proverb warns us to call no man happy until he is dead, and the last twenty-five years of Augustus' life were clouded by domestic troubles and by military disasters. He himself was never the same man after the loss of his greater helper, and as each fresh cause for anxiety arose he would murmur : 'This would never have happened if Agrippa and Maecenas had been alive.'

The first calamity was the sudden death in 9 B.C. of his favourite stepson Drusus. Then in 6 B.C. Tiberius refused to play any longer the part which Augustus had designed for him as husband of Julia and guardian of her two sons, and retired to Rhodes. A worse trouble came in 2 B.C. when the scandal of Julia's downfall destroyed her father's happiness for ever. Close upon this came the deaths of the two youths, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom Augustus had adopted and designated as his successors, and he was forced much against his will to adopt Tiberius. But he did away with any pleasure that Tiberius might have felt by also

EPILOGUE

adopting Agrippa Postumus, a graceless and insubordinate youth, who was plainly unfit for any high position.

These domestic troubles were mainly caused by Augustus himself, by his undue partiality for Julia and her children, and by his unjust treatment of Tiberius. For the military disasters which clouded the last years of his life he was not personally responsible, but they were eventually due to the torpor in army administration which set in after Agrippa's death. The great Pannonian revolt of A.D. 6 strained the military resources of the Empire to the uttermost, and the battle of the Volcaean Marshes came near to being one of the greatest defeats in Roman history. Happily the valour of the legionaries saved the day, and Tiberius by prudent strategy brought Pannonia to subjection again after three years' hard fighting. But the Pannonian danger was no sooner averted than news reached Rome of a terrible calamity in Germany. Varus, an incompetent whom Augustus had appointed to that command, allowed himself to be trapped by Arminius in the Teutoburgian Wood, and lost his entire army of over twenty thousand men. This was the last blow. Augustus tried to console himself by writing the *Res Gestae*; but his spirit was broken, and he not only withdrew from Germany but gave a solemn injunction to his successors that no further extension of Empire should be undertaken.

Nor were Agrippa's descendants more fortunate, and their history is a long series of tragedies. Of his five children by Julia the two elder sons, Gaius and Lucius

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Caesar, were cut off in early manhood. Julia, his elder daughter, followed in her mother's footsteps, and in A.D. 8 was sent into exile together with her paramour Silanus, bringing Ovid down with her in her fall. In the previous year Agrippa Postumus, who proved utterly intractable, was banished to the island of Planasia, and was there put to death soon after the accession of Tiberius. The younger daughter Agrippina, married to Germanicus, son of Drusus, alone had something of her father's ability, and might have been an influence for good if her whole character had not been warped by her insensate jealousy of Tiberius, whom she regarded as an usurper. She instilled the same prejudice into the minds of her two elder sons, Nero and Drusus, so that Sejanus, the minister of Tiberius who was plotting to take his master's place, found an opportunity to accuse all three of disloyalty, and they perished miserably in prison. Her third son Gaius, who was adopted by his great-uncle Tiberius and succeeded him, is charitably supposed to have been mad ; otherwise the crimes which he committed in his short reign would make him a monster. Of his four sisters, who all died violent deaths, Agrippina the younger is the best known. She was not mad, but she was a dreadful woman—cruel, vindictive, and unscrupulous ; and her first husband, Domitius Ahenobarbus, was equally detestable. To him she bore one child, Nero, who became emperor after his mother had married and murdered her uncle, the Emperor Claudius ; and with Nero the line of Agrippa's descendants came to an end.

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